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EPITOME

ALISON'S HISTORY

EUROPE

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN 1789
TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS IN 1815

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

FOURTH EDITION

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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THE general interest taken by the public in the events treated of in my "History of Europe," and the importance of some information on the subject to every one desirous of obtaining even an ordinary education, has suggested to the Messrs BLACKWOOD the idea of publishing an Abridgment of it for the use of Schools and young persons. An Author is in general the person of all others least adapted for such a task, as he is unavoidably biassed by partialities contracted in the course of composition, from which a third party is free. I have contented myself, therefore, with taking a general superintendence of this Abridgment. Great care has been taken to retain mention of all the material facts in the work, but to dwell at length on such only as were likely to interest youthful minds, and impress the great moral and religious principles which it was the object of the Author to illustrate by his narrative. A Chronological Table has been subjoined of all the principal events, which will be found of use in impressing them upon the memory, and giving a general idea of the order in which they succeeded each other, even to those of more

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advanced years. In a word, nothing has been omitted which could render the *EPITOME* suitable for the purpose for which it was intended—that of combining historical information, on a period of unexampled interest and importance, with those still more valuable moral truths which may be deduced alike from the transactions of men and the works of nature.

A. ALISON.

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EPITOME
OF THE
HISTORY OF EUROPE
1789—1815

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.—FROM THE STATES-GENERAL, 1789,
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the Revolution.*

1. THE Great Rebellion in England and the French Revolution have been regarded by many as occurrences almost parallel in character; but on closer examination it will be found that, possessing a few marked features in common, they were strikingly different both in origin and results. Their resemblance to each other consisted in the overthrow of monarchy by the multitude, and the execution of a reigning prince; in the assumption of the supreme power by the people, and the ultimate restoration of the hereditary line; and with these points the similitude ends. The consequent wars in England, extending over many years, lay between the King and the principal gentry arrayed on the one side, and the cities and the popular mass on the other; while in France none remained loyal to the crown save the Vendean peasantry: the King, yielding without a struggle, was brought

to the block by a faction in Paris—a catastrophe which a little energy at first could have easily averted ; while the privileged classes, to the number of 70,000, fled during the panic from the country, and took refuge on foreign shores. In England, religion was the great lever by which the leaders of the movement acted on the people ; in France, democracy triumphed in the temporary prostration of Christianity itself.

2. It is also remarkable that, while no massacres or proscriptions took place during the great civil war in England, and not a manor-house was given to the flames—thatch while awaiting the death of the King, of Strafford, and of Laud, no unnecessary cruelty was indulged in by the republican victors, and little alteration took place eventually, either as to property or the general laws of the realm ;—in France the higher ranks were universally treated with the most revolting barbarity, and every one elevated above the mere populace was marked out as a victim : the peasants rose against their landlords, burned their houses, and plundered their property ; and to these crimes the rural population of la Vendée was the only and the honourable exception. The advantages of fortune and the distinctions of rank were fatal to their possessors, liberty and equality being the universal outcry of the revolutionary party—who on these grounds not only usurped the entire estates of the church, and the great part of those of the nobles, but annihilated all private rights and privileges, and instituted an entirely new code for the administration of justice.

3. We thus see, that these great Revolutions differed in many more things than in what they agreed ; and we must seek for an explanation of these discrepancies, not so much in any original distinctions of national character as in the widely different states of the two countries at the commencement of these outbreaks. In attempting to do this, we must be allowed briefly to glance at some previous scenes of their previous history ; because, after the overthrow of the Roman dominion, very different circumstances tended to mould the character of the Gauls and Britons.

STATE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

4. Borne down by centuries of oppression, and humiliated by a long submission to tyrannic power, the Britons became a prey to the lawless aggressions of the Scots and Picts, almost as soon as the Roman yoke was removed from their shoulders; nor was it until the Anglo-Saxon Conquest reanimated afresh the national spirit, that they recovered from the lethargy into which they had been subdued. The continuous wars of the Heptarchy, which stretched over three centuries and in which Saxons, Danes, and Britons were continually engaged, tended gradually to reawaken the warrior energies which had been originally characteristic of the British nation. During this process, however, the frame of society was greatly disorganised; the community unfortunately arranged itself under two separate and distinct classes: the aristocracy, and their slaves or vassals; and such a division between them as the middle class of tenants was completely swept away.

5. At this era the Norman Conquest induced a new order of things: with an arbitrary despotism, not less oppressive than the Roman, property was reft from its owners, who were speedily degraded almost to the rank of the serfs who had formerly been a part of it. But the spirit of independence passed not away from the humbled Anglo-Saxons, and the most happy results were destined to arise from these occurrences; for, from their intermarriages with the Normans sprang the forefathers of the English Yeomanry, whose prowess with the bow rendered them the most formidable troops in the wars of the Middle Ages.

6. It was thus that the ancient English spirit gradually rose in the ascendant; and the mass of the people came ultimately to be possessed of even more than their ancient privileges. The constant use of arms taught them their own importance in the state, and the ancient institutions of the country came at length to be objects of veneration, even to the descendants of those who had overturned them. In process of time, these were solemnly ratified in Magna Charta, and recognised as the basis of the British constitution.

7. At a subsequent period, it may be said that the balance of power amid the classes of the empire was destroyed by the wars

of the houses of York and Lancaster, as the almost extermination of the ancient nobility, and the constant changes of property from one hand to another, tended greatly to augment the power of the crown. This was exhibited, not only in the tyranny of the Tudor princes, but in the servility of their parliaments. But the balance was restored by the Reformation, throughout which the religious zeal which inflamed the people, and their natural love of liberty, were more than a match for the loyalty and devotion of the gentry to their sovereign; and although matters terminated in the overthrow of the throne for a season, the tendencies towards republicanism gradually relaxed, and the result was the re-establishment of the constitution on a broader basis, and encircled with surer safeguards.

8. So much for England; let us now glance at Gaul, which was left in a state of even deeper degradation on the withdrawal of the Roman forces. There were only 500,000 freemen in the country when it was overrun by the barbarian Franks, into whose hands, before the eleventh century, the whole property of the country had fallen. The original proprietors of the soil were never able to extricate themselves from the entanglements of the degradation into which they had fallen. Every great feudal lord exercised the prerogatives of a petty king; and in their endless and sanguinary wars with each other they kept up that military spirit, which looked with disdain on the peaceable avocations of commerce. A chivalric enthusiasm, no doubt, pervaded the higher classes; but the serfs and burgesses were degraded to the verge of absolute slavery. A reaction at length took place in the dreadful insurrection of the Jacquerie: the nobles were hunted like wild beasts, and subjected to deaths of torture, and their castles burned or thrown down. But the triumph was brief: masses of half-armed and undisciplined men could not stand the shock of the feudal cavalry, and blood was shed in torrents. The French municipalities yielded almost without a struggle; and in 1369 was erected that Bastille which was not thrown down till the commencement of the era of which we are now to treat.

II. *Causes in France which predisposed to Revolution.*

9. Situated in the centre of European civilisation, it was impossible that France, in the eighteenth century, should escape the general tendency towards free institutions. All classes, except the privileged ones, were discontented; and the universality of this disaffection proves the existence of grievances affecting all classes in the state. It is true that, in every prosperous, opulent, and advancing country, the higher ranks must be constantly exposed to collision with the incessantly increasing vigour of the lower orders, and, if without advantages to counteract the superior energy and industry of their inferiors, must in general fall a prey to their ambition. But in France, besides the operation of this general rule, and besides the various checks on the growth of constitutional liberty which were detailed in the last section, numerous peculiar causes had combined both to rouse the revolutionary feeling, and to facilitate the success of its outbreak. For a century and a half before the Revolution, France had been undisturbed by civil war or foreign invasion: wealth had accumulated in the lower orders during this long interval of peace and tranquillity; while the military spirit of the nation had been developed to the utmost by continual wars with the European powers. The church, in the mean time, had experienced the fate of all attempts, in an advancing age, to fetter the human mind; the growth of philosophic investigation had exposed the corruption and absurdity of many of its doctrines; and superstitious belief had been succeeded, from the natural tendency of the human mind to pass from one extreme to another, by the irreligious scepticism of Voltaire, Diderot, and their followers. The unpopularity of the church was further augmented by the unequal distribution of its revenues and honours, (from which the clergy of plebeian birth were almost wholly excluded,) and by the luxury and dissipated lives of the high-born dignitaries: hence the superior ecclesiastics shared the odium directed against the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy. All appointments of value in the law, the church, the

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

court, or the army, were monopolised by a class containing 150,000 individuals: the great body of the people were absolutely excluded. Hence the industrious classes, and the men of wealth and talent, were unanimous in their hatred of the nobles; and hence arose the watchword of Liberty and Equality—a phrase unheard in the English Rebellion.

10. A still more practical grievance was the weight and inequality of taxation. The total revenue amounted to 489,000,000 francs, (£18,750,000,) of which the taxes on articles of consumption formed 260,000,000. But this immense burden was unequally divided among the different provinces; and the intendants, who regulated these proportions, exercised an arbitrary power, from which there was practically no appeal. The nobles and the clergy were exempt from the *taille*, and others of the more oppressive imposts; while the cultivator was so heavily mulcted, that only one-twelfth of the produce of an acre (instead of three-fourths, as in England) remained to him after payment of rent and taxes. The cultivators were consequently reduced to the lowest misery, which was aggravated by the vexatious severity of the local burdens, and services due to their feudal superiors. The game-laws, the *corvées*, or forced requisitions for the repair of roads, &c., and innumerable other imposts, for which we cannot even find names in our language, weighed as dreadful grievances on the peasantry; and the general non-residence of the landlords (except in la Vendée) completed the disunion between them and their rural dependants.

11. Nor was the administration of justice free from censure: in many of the local courts it was even venal and infamous; and the independence of the provincial parliaments did not always exempt their decisions from the suspicion of partiality. Yet the free and courageous conduct of these bodies had preserved all that still remained of public liberty, by the contest which they had maintained during half a century against the ordinances of the crown. These edicts, for nearly two hundred years, had usurped the authority of the law, and the royal prerogative had become virtually absolute. The undisguised

profligacy of the court, under the Regent Orleans and Louis XV., was carried to an extent unknown since the Roman empire; the favour of royal mistresses openly disposed of the highest appointments; and such was the dissolution of morals, that no less than £20,000,000 of the public debt had been contracted for expenses too disgraceful to bear the light. This enormous national debt, incurred by the crown without national authority, amounted in 1789 to above £244,000,000, while the revenue presented an annual deficit of above £7,000,000!—and this, by compelling the King to summon the States-General in order to avert national bankruptcy, proved the immediate cause of the Revolution.

12. The spirit of innovation had been increasing through the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the American war blew the embers into a flame. The enthusiasm of the nation forced the government to take part in the contest; and the soldiers who were sent to support the Transatlantic insurgents imbibed intoxicating ideas of patriotic resistance, and returned eager to instil into their countrymen their own admiration of republicanism. At the same juncture, the government alienated the army by introducing the Prussian discipline, with all its severe and degrading punishments, and by making a hundred years of noble descent indispensable for a commissioned officer. Thus in every quarter some cause of disaffection existed, and many of them had been long in operation.

13. Of all the monarchs who ever sat on the French throne, Louis XVI. was the least calculated either to provoke or to subdue a revolution. Endowed with all the virtues which adorn private life, he was destitute of the firmness and decision necessary to control the conflicting interests which, during his reign, were brought into such fearful collision: hence, in difficult periods he vacillated between the wish to concede the demands of the popular party and the fear of offending the pride of the nobles, till both were led to abandon him, from distrusting, the one his constancy, the other his sincerity. Maurepas, whom he chose at his accession for prime-minister, further accustomed him to

a system of half measures and temporisation; and his plans of reform, though supported by the eminent talents of Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, were thwarted by the selfish opposition of the nobles. Their influence, united with the jealousy of Maurepas at the ascendant of Turgot over the King, procured from Louis, against his better judgment, the dismissal of this virtuous statesman. Necker, whose economical projects had alarmed the courtiers, shared the same fate shortly after; and on the death of Maurepas himself, which soon followed, the abortive movement towards reform, which he had at least the merit of attempting, was abandoned by his successors.

14. The Queen, the young and beautiful Marie Antoinette, now assumed a paramount influence over the King's mind, which she retained down to the overthrow of the throne. Vergennes was made prime-minister, and Calonne minister of finance. This extravagant but showy speculator was in every respect the reverse of the cautious Necker. For a time he supported the public credit, and maintained the court in unexampled splendour, by the incessant contraction of new loans. But this system could not long be kept up: between 1781 and 1786 the government had borrowed £64,000,000; and the publication of this astounding fact, which was elicited on the assemblage of the Notables, or chief nobility, for the imposition of fresh taxes, was the signal for the fall of Calonne. But his successor, Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, was not more adequate to cope with the crisis. He had attracted the Queen's approbation by his conversational brilliancy—but his schemes were both rashly formed and feebly executed; and the assembly of Notables, proving both parsimonious and refractory, was dissolved in 1787.

15. But the ferment which their convocation had excited still continued; and when two new taxes were soon after imposed by the ministry, the parliament of Paris refused to register them—a form indispensable for their legalisation. The resistance of the parliament was punished by banishment to Troyes, whence they were recalled only on consenting to the registration. But the same scene was ere long repeated on the proposition of a

new loan, and the King himself registered the edict by the interposition of his personal authority in what was termed a *Bed of Justice*. But in spite of some promised concessions, the movement had not become general; and the parliament of Paris, placing itself at its head, boldly declared that it had *no power* to register taxes, and demanded the convocation of the States-General.

16. In this emergency Brienne determined on a bold stroke (May 5, 1789) for the maintenance of the power of the crown. The parliament was confined to its judicial functions, while its political powers were summarily transferred to a *cour plénière*, composed of the court party. But public opinion was too strong for this violent step: the nation united in opposition; and the convocation of the States-General was called for alike by the nobles, the commons, the provincial assemblies, and the clergy. Driven to extremities, the court and the ministers were forced to yield: the parliament was re-established, the *cour plénière* abolished, and Necker recalled; and in August 1788, the meeting of the Estates was fixed for May 1, 1789.

III. *States-General—National Assembly, afterwards Constituent Assembly.*

17. The 5th May 1789 was the day on which the French Revolution was virtually commenced, by the opening of the States-General. On the evening of the 4th, the royal family, the ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, (*viz.* the nobles, clergy, and commons,) had walked in solemn procession to hear mass; and the next morning the Assembly was opened with great pomp, according to the ceremonial of the last convocation in 1614. As the King seated himself on the throne, all the deputies rose and covered themselves—an ominous change from the days when the *Tiers Etat* remained uncovered and spoke only on their knees! But this *Tiers Etat* (third estate, or commons) was now, in the words of a famous pamphlet by the Abbé Sieyès, "the French nation, *minus* the nobles and the clergy;"

and the doubling of the number of their deputies, which Necker had conceded to the impulse of democratic ambition, threw a heavy preponderance into the scale of the popular party. So little care had been taken to regulate the franchise, that nearly three millions had voted in the elections; no qualification whatever, either of age or property, had been required of the representatives themselves; and the deputies were reduced to mere delegates, by being absolutely bound by the *cahiers*, or instructions drawn up by their constituents for the guidance of their votes. Of the deputies thus chosen, scarcely any were men of property, talent, or previous influence; many were reckless and needy adventurers, who sought only an opportunity of advancing their own fortunes; and of 565 (the entire number of the Tiers Etat,) not less than 279 were lawyers, chiefly from the lower ranks of the profession. From this last class sprang Robespierre, Danton, and nearly all the associates of their crimes. The Chamber of Nobles comprehended 270 members, including one prince of the blood—the Duke of Orleans: the numbers of the clergy were 293—but 210 of these were curates, whose prepossessions were mostly on the side of the Tiers Etat. Such was the composition of this memorable assembly.

18. The proceedings were opened by a speech from the throne, in which the King detailed the urgent causes which had induced him to re-establish the meetings of the states, and concluded by a wish “that unanimity might prevail among them.” But the following day showed how fallacious was this hope. The plan of Necker had been to form the states into two chambers, as in England—the nobles and clergy in one, and the Tiers Etat in the other: but the two higher orders insisted on constituting themselves in separate chambers; while the commons, on the other hand, refused to begin business till they were joined by the other orders. For several weeks this contest continued, to the complete stoppage of public affairs: public opinion being vehement in favour of the Tiers Etat, who increased in their pretensions as their adversaries showed signs of irresolution. At length, (June 17,) after a violent debate, which lasted till past

midnight, the deputies of the commons, by a majority of 491 to 90, took the decisive step of declaring themselves to be the representatives of the nation; constituting themselves (in disregard of both the crown and the nobles) by the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and declaring all taxes illegal except those voted by themselves.

19. The aristocracy were thunderstruck by the audacity of this measure, which excited the popular enthusiasm in the highest degree. Necker proposed the adoption of a mixed constitution, similar to that of England; and the King announced his intention of declaring his will, on the 23d, to the assembled estates. In the mean time, (July 20,) the hall of the *Tiers Etat* was closed, and guarded by grenadiers; but this step, which was misconstrued into a threat of coercion by arms, led to disastrous results. The members, with their president Bailly, repaired to an adjoining tennis-court, where each of the deputies, with a single exception, pledged himself, by an oath confirmed by his signature, not to separate till they had fulfilled the task for which they were called together—viz., the reform of the constitution.

20. This famous Tennis Court Oath had involved the Assembly in a contest with the Government; and they were reinforced, two days later, by the accession of 143 of the clergy. The majority of the nobles still dissented, and the royal sitting took place, as announced, on the 24th. The declarations of the King were read, abolishing the exemptions from taxes of the nobles and clergy, with most of the feudal imposts; and guaranteeing the liberty of the press, the remission of the national debt, and the reform of the criminal code. But these concessions, which at any other time would have excited transports of gratitude, were accompanied by the announcement of the resolutions of 17th June as illegal. The orders were further commanded to meet in separate chambers, and threats of punishment held out to the contumacious. The *Tiers Etat*, however, were now conscious of their own power: on the motion of Mirabeau and Sieyès, they refused to separate; and next day they were

joined by the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Rochefoucault-Liancourt, the Marquis Lafayette, Count Lally-Tollendal, and about forty other nobles. The King, yielding to the torrent, enjoined the recusant majority of the nobles, and the remainder of the clergy, to follow their example (June 25.) Thus the Assembly had victoriously defied the throne: public opinion was with them, and the royal authority was virtually annihilated.

21. Meanwhile the ferment in the capital had risen to an almost incredible pitch; and the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, became the centre of the agitation. On the 1st of July, the *Gardes Françaises* broke out into open mutiny; and the symptoms of disaffection increased so rapidly in all quarters, that the conviction of the absolute necessity of coercive measures was at length brought home to the court. A large force was collected round Versailles, and Necker was dismissed and exiled; but the populace broke out in fury at the news, and the first blood of the Revolution was shed in a riot on 11th July, headed by the afterwards famous Camille Desmoulins. In the vain hope of conciliation, the troops were withdrawn: but the mob procured arms by plundering the arsenals and the gunsmiths' shops; and on the 14th, the first open blow was struck against the government by the attack on the Bastille. The weak garrison, overpowered after a short resistance, yielded on promise of safety; but the governor and three of the officers were brutally massacred by the populace, and their bloody heads borne aloft on pikes. The storming of the Bastille was communicated to Louis by the Duke de Liancourt.—“This is a revolt,” said the King after a long silence. “Sire,” was the reply, “it is a *revolution*!”

22. The immediate consequence was the formation of a popular armed force—the National Guard—from the citizens of Paris; and the King, finding resistance hopeless from the universal defection of the troops, resolved to yield. He repaired to the Assembly, attended only by his two brothers, and announced his determination of visiting Paris. On the 17th he accor-

dingly set out, from Versailles, accompanied by a great part of the Assembly, and by a vast concourse of half-armed peasants, who surrounded and impeded the cavalcade. The march lasted seven hours; at the gates, the keys of the city were presented by Bailly, now mayor of Paris; and Louis reached the Hotel de Ville in the midst of a hundred thousand armed men, all wearing the new national *tricoloured* cockade. Necker had already been recalled, in obedience to the popular voice, and was brought back in triumph; but he speedily experienced how inadequate was his popularity to control the frenzy of the people. Foulon and Berthier, two of the late ministers, were seized and hanged by the mob, in spite of the efforts of Lafayette and Bailly; and this sanguinary example speedily extended to the provinces. The most dreadful confusion and anarchy ensued: the barbarities of the *Jacquerie* were revived on a greater scale, and the seigneurs and proprietors were everywhere expelled or massacred with circumstances of unheard-of cruelty. No power any longer existed which could control these excesses: the troops had universally embraced the popular side, and the people throughout the kingdom had organised themselves into armed troops of national guards. Within a fortnight from the fall of the Bastille, both the legislative authority and the armed power had passed absolutely into the hands of the people.

23. In the mean time, the evil effects of popular ascendancy appeared in the form of famine: the farmers no longer dared to send their grain to Paris, and Bailly had the utmost difficulty in providing subsistence for the people. Many nobles had already fled with their families from the kingdom; those who remained sought to deprecate by concession the hostility of the lower orders. On the 4th of August, the Duke de Noailles proposed the equalisation of taxation on all ranks: the example became contagious; and the nobles, corporations, and provinces vied with each other in surrendering their rights. On that night the political condition of France was changed, and the odious distinctions of noble and plebeian for ever swept away.

But the events of the last three months had unsettled men's minds, and the evil effects of the spirit of innovation were soon manifested. On the 7th of August, the redemption of tithes, previously voted, was changed into their abolition. It was in vain that Sieyès protested against this act of spoliation. Mirabeau replied to his remonstrances—"My dear Abbé, you have loosed the bull—do you expect he will not use his horns?" The church estates, producing a net revenue of £2,800,000, were seized for the use of the nation, which undertook to make provision for the clergy; but the promise was never kept, and this ill-gotten property was so mismanaged, that it cost the nation more than it yielded! This act of injustice was speedily followed (Aug. 18) by the publication of the famous Rights of Man—a manifesto which became the creed of the Revolution, and which promulgated, as the basis of social government, the specious but impracticable doctrines of *liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people* exercised by universal suffrage.

24. During these events, the anarchy in the provinces, as well as the famine in the capital, continued to increase to a fearful extent: the collection of the revenue had become almost impossible; and the capitalists, terrified at the progress of the revolutionary convulsion, rejected all attempts to negotiate a loan. The financial extremity was such, that Necker was compelled (Sept. 24) to propose an income-tax amounting to a fourth of each individual's revenue; and this extraordinary impost was supported by the unrivalled eloquence of Mirabeau, who clearly demonstrated it to be the only chance of escaping national bankruptcy. But though the enactment was passed, subsequent events prevented its being ever enforced. The populace had been inflamed by the most extravagant reports, disseminated purposely to throw the odium of the famine and public distress on the King and nobles, and an accident produced an explosion.

25. A dinner had been given by the body-guards at Versailles (Oct. 1) to the officers of the regiment of Flanders: the King and royal family had shown themselves at the banquet, and the officers, in the enthusiasm of loyalty, were decorated with white

cockades by the ladies of the court. The infuriated rabble instigated by the agents of the Duke of Orleans, who hoped to gain the crown by the dethronement of Louis, construed this demonstration into the prelude of an attack from the aristocracy, and on the 5th, a vast armed mob, followed by crowds of drunken women of the lowest rank, set out from Paris for Versailles. They surrounded the palace with furious outcries, and burst into the Hall of Assembly, the members of which saw themselves, for the first time, outraged by the popular passion which they had awakened. Lafayette, who arrived before night with the national guard of Paris, succeeded in some degree in restoring order; but this calm was of short duration. At six the next morning, the storm burst forth with redoubled fury: a savage and bloodthirsty multitude forced the palace gates, overpowered the guards, and penetrated even into the royal apartments. The Queen had only escaped from her chamber a few moments before the entrance of the insurgents, and the lives of all the royal family were only saved by the tardy arrival of Lafayette, who had been asleep at some distance from the scene of danger. The Queen, braving instant death, appeared alone at the balcony to save the lives of the body-guards; and the execrations of the mob were changed into involuntary applause by admiration of her intrepidity. But the leaders of the revolt were determined to complete their triumph, by removing the King and his family to Paris, where they would be entirely under their control. The royal carriage was preceded by the heads of two of the body-guards, borne on pikes; revolutionary ballads were chanted in derision by frantic women and all the rabble of the capital; and thus, compelled to drink the bitterest drops in the cup of humiliation, was Louis led as a captive by his own subjects to the Tuilleries, which thenceforward became his palace and his prison.

26. The Duke of Orleans, who had been instrumental in exciting these disturbances, was sent, with the entire concurrence of the Assembly, into honourable exile on a mission to London. But the removal of the court to Paris was equally productive of increased excitement and violence in the capital; and the scenes

The legislative body of Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and others, brave and enlightened men, was a serious loss to the cause of rational freedom. For some time, however, the national assembly at Paris, headed by Lafayette, succeeded in checking the licence which prevailed, and punishing the perpetrators of fresh excesses. The Baron de Besenval, one of the objects of popular odium, was tried by the High Court of the Châtelet and acquitted; but the Marquis de Favras was less fortunate. The tribunal, intimidated by the ferocious cries of the rabble, condemned him on absurd and incredible charges, and he was hanged by torchlight at three in the morning, (Feb. 19, 1790,) amid the savage exultation of a vast crowd, who rejoiced at this ignominious fate of a nobleman.

27. The new constitution yet remained to be framed; and the Assembly accordingly commenced its deliberations for this purpose under the name of the **CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**. Two of its articles were debated with special vivacity:—1, Whether the legislature should sit in a single chamber, or be divided into an upper and lower house? 2, The extent of the royal veto. The pressure of democracy soon decided the first point in favour of the amalgamation of all the orders in one chamber; but the veto was the subject of furious debate, and the passions of the multitude (the majority of whom were ignorant whether this obnoxious phrase implied a tax, a privilege, or a person!) were excited to the utmost by the demagogues and clubs of the Palais Royal. Even the influence and eloquence of Mirabeau, who sided with the court on this occasion, were unable to procure the admission of absolute veto; and it was decided that the King's power of refusing to sanction a measure should not extend beyond two successive legislatures.

28. Early in the year (Jan. 9) the Assembly proceeded to introduce a complete change in the domestic arrangements of France. To check the rising jealousies of the provinces, which beheld with regret the diminution of their ancient rights and importance, the kingdom was parcelled out into eighty-four *departments*, so arranged as to confound the existing territorial

limits, and destroy as far as possible all vestiges of the former divisions. Each department was nearly equal in extent and population, and was subdivided into districts, which were further divided into cantons, usually of five or six parishes each. Each department had its criminal tribunal, and its administrative and executive councils; each district had its first court, each canton its court of reference. The municipalities of the towns were arranged on the same system; and the appointment of all the administrators, as well as of the national representatives, was vested in the deputies of the cantons, who were chosen by all men who were twenty-five years of age, and who paid a contribution equal to three days' labour. Forty-eight thousand *communes*, or municipalities, were thus erected; everything, through either a single or double election, flowed from the people; and the franchise was so low as virtually to admit every able-bodied man.

29. The Assembly next turned to the consideration of the finances. Within three years, not less than £50,000,000 had been added to the public debt;—the revenue had everywhere failed, and no further advances could be obtained from the capitalists. The first step adopted to supply this immense deficit was, to carry out the previously commenced confiscation of church property; and the decree, moved by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, was carried by a great majority. The municipalities were the chief purchasers; but as money could not easily be found to complete these vast sales, promissory-notes were issued, and eventually sanctioned by government as a legal currency; and thus commenced the system of *assignats*—the source of more public strength and private misery than any other financial measure of the times. This flagrant spoliation arrayed the whole clergy in vehement but vain hostility to the Revolution. But their internal organisation was no more spared than their property: the bishoprics were equalised in number with the departments, and the appointment of the bishops and clergy committed to the choice of the electors! The clergy and their partisans upon this attempted to dissolve the Assembly—the deputies having been chosen only for a year, which had now expired; but the motion was defeated by the

influence of Mirabeau, and the session declared permanent till the new constitution was complete.

30. The work of innovation now proceeded with redoubled speed. All titles of honour were suppressed by a simple decree; the provincial parliaments were abolished, trial by jury introduced, and new tribunals everywhere created. The organisation of the army underwent a similar change: the ancient privileges of birth and rank were abolished in the regiments of the line, and promotion to commissions made dependent on seniority. The establishment of national guards was extended over the kingdom, forming a force of 500,000 effective men; and companies of drilled pikemen were formed in all the towns. In Paris alone there were 50,000, and the gift of two pieces of cannon to each of the forty-eight sections into which the city was divided, soon after the taking of the Bastille, gave these bands a formidable preponderance. The confusion of the finances still continued; and fresh issues of assignats were poured into the money-market in such quantities as to produce a rapid depreciation in the value of these paper securities. Towards the crown, however, the Assembly was liberal: £1,000,000 annually was granted for a civil list, and a jointure of £180,000 to the Queen.

31. The 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, was signalised by a national fête in the Champ de Mars, where the King, the Assembly, and the national guards under Lafayette took the oath to the new constitution in the presence of an assemblage of 400,000 persons; while mass was celebrated by Talleyrand assisted by priests in tricolor robes. But the animosity of the factions speedily revived: and an ill-timed and fruitless impeachment for conspiracy was brought against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans, the failure of which only weakened the moderate party. Neckar, whose popularity had vanished before the headlong advance of democracy, soon after (Sept. 4) resigned his post and quitted France almost as a fugitive—a memorable instance of the instability of popular applause. The oath of fidelity to the new constitution—to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King—was now exact-

ing vehement opposition in various quarters. M. de Bouillé, the commandant of Metz, declined it as incompatible with his allegiance to his sovereign, and yielded only to the personal request of Louis: and a great majority of the clergy of every rank absolutely refused it, and were deprived of their benefices, (Jan. 4, 1791)—an iniquitous step, which rendered irreparable the breach between the Church and the Revolution. The abolition of the right of primogeniture in succession to property, (March 18,) which was aimed at the aristocracy, was perhaps, in its ultimate consequences, the most fatal blow to the cause of freedom struck by the Revolution. Its popularity was such that Napoleon himself did not feel strong enough to repeal it: it is still the law of the land; and by rendering inevitable the eventual extinction of the independent landed proprietors, it has virtually removed every impediment to the encroachments of the central power in the capital.

32. About this time the influence of the clubs of Paris—afterwards so famous in the history of the Revolution—first began to be felt as formidable. The most powerful was that of the Jacobins—originally an assemblage of deputies from Brittany, but which, by degrees, became the great focus of revolution. “The Club of 1790” consisted of Sieyès, Lafayette, and other leaders of the moderate party; and a club called “Le Monarchique” was set on foot by the royalists: but these and others, uninspired by the fierce energy of the Jacobins, soon fell into obscurity. The emigration of the nobles, meanwhile, continued unabated; and many thousands assembled at Coblenz, which became the headquarters of aristocratic machination. A fierce discussion arose on this point in the Assembly, and the penalties of outlawry and confiscation were proposed against refractory emigrants; but Mirabeau, defying the cry of “Traitor to the people” raised against him by the Jacobins, anathematized and repudiated this atrocious project by the irresistible thunders of eloquence.

33. Mirabeau, disgusted with the fickleness of the multitude, and foreseeing their future excesses, had, ere this, made secret

advances to the party supporting the throne ; and he now openly joined them. His project was, that the King should escape from Paris, assemble a royal army under the able guidance of De. Bouillé, and dissolve the Assembly. A new one was then to be convoked, the nobility restored, and a constitution framed as nearly as possible on the British model. But in the midst of these designs he was cut short by death : his strong constitution sank under the combined excitement of ambition and excessive indulgence in pleasure ; and the extinction of this brilliant and eccentric luminary, (April 2,) whom Necker truly characterised as "an aristocrat by inclination, and a tribune of the people by calculation," was an irreparable loss to the monarchical party.

34. But the plans which Mirabeau had formed for the escape of the King from his thralldom were not extinguished by his death. Arrangements were concerted with M. de Bouillé ; and on 20th June, the King and Queen, with the Dauphin and the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, succeeded in leaving Paris in disguise, and travelled several days without detection. At St Ménéhould, however, the suspicions of the postmaster were awakened ; and he despatched an emissary across the country to Varennes, where the royal fugitives were arrested on their arrival : and M. de Bouillé, who set out with a regiment of dragoons from Stenay, on hearing this disastrous news, reached Varennes too late to effect a rescue. Their return to Paris as captives was attended with every circumstance of barbarity : a gentleman who approached to kiss the King's hand was torn to pieces before his eyes ; and the mob of the Parisian suburbs received them at the Tuileries with frightful outcries, openly demanding the head of the King.

35. The project of exchanging the monarchy for a republic was now no longer concealed ; and Robespierre, in the Assembly, endeavoured to make the flight of the King a pretext for his deposition and death. But Barnave, hitherto an adherent of the revolutionary party, boldly and generously opposed this sanguinary project ; and the committees, to whom the subject

was referred, reported that no grounds for an accusation existed. Foiled in the Assembly, the democrats had recourse to the people; and a revolt, organised by the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, under Robespierre and Brissot, broke out (July 17) in the Champ de Mars. The Assembly, however, continued undaunted; and Lafayette, with twelve hundred faithful grenadiers of the national guard, dispersed the insurgents with some bloodshed; and had this blow been followed up with energy, the constitutional monarchy might have been saved, and the Reign of Terror prevented. But the Assembly, fearful of a general reaction against the movement, left the democratic leaders unpunished—an act of lenity afterwards rewarded by the sanguinary fate of Bailly, and many others, who had been instrumental in this partial coercion of popular licentiousness.

36. The new constitution was now nearly complete. Many attempts were made by the moderate men of all parties, who at length saw the pernicious tendency of many of its articles, particularly of the single chamber and restricted veto, to effect a revision of these points; but all their efforts were defeated by the Jacobins. The last act of the Assembly was to declare their members ineligible for the next legislature—a measure afterwards productive of ruinous results. The King (who had previously been restored to liberty, and the semblance of authority) declared his acceptance of the constitution (Sept. 13) after several days of careful examination; and his public adhesion was given the next day. The task of the Constituent Assembly was now complete; and (Sept. 29) its sittings were closed by a speech from the King, full of sentiments of generous confidence, which was received with loud applause by the members.

IV. *Legislative Assembly—Fall of the Monarchy—The September Massacres.*

37. The LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, which opened its sittings on 1st October 1791, affords the first example in modern Europe, on a great scale, of a completely popular election, and the results were such as might have been anticipated. The National

Assembly had numbered among its members some of the greatest proprietors, and many of the noblest names in the kingdom; but the almost universal emigration of the aristocracy, and the ineligibility (by their own decree) of the members of the late Assembly, had combined with the spread of leveling principles among the electoral bodies to exclude all whose station or character would have entitled them to a seat in the Chamber. Thus property was wholly unrepresented in the Legislative Assembly, in which there were not fifty persons possessing £100 a year; the majority were presumptuous and half-educated young men, who had brought themselves into notice by their vehemence at the popular clubs—with talent enough to render them dangerous, but neither knowledge nor property to steady their ambition. Of the various parties into which the Assembly was soon divided, the members on the right, or friends of the constitution, (called *Feuillants*, from the club of that name,) were directed by Lameth, Barnave, &c., who, though excluded from the Assembly by the self-denying ordinance, were the true leaders of the party. The *Girondists* (so called from a district near Bordeaux) comprised those who aimed at republican institutions on the model of antiquity, under the brilliant leadership of Vergniaud, Brissot, Isnard, and Condorcet. The principal Jacobins in the Assembly were Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire; but the strength of that party lay in the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs—in the first of which Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois held absolute sway; as did Danton, Carrier, and Desmoulins in the second.

28. The first proceedings of the Assembly were in accordance with its composition. The titles of *Sire* and *Majesty* were at once dropped, and severe measures were directed (Oct. 30) against the emigrants, the dissident clergy, and the brother of the King, (afterwards Louis XVIII.,) who was commanded to return to France, under pain of forfeiting his eventual right to the regency. This last decree was reluctantly sanctioned; but he resolutely imposed his veto on the two others, though he issued a severe proclamation against the emigrants, whose abandonment of their

country he had from the first condemned. The election of a mayor of Paris (Nov. 17) was carried against Lafayette by Pétion, who was supported by the united Jacobins and Girondists; and encouraged by this success, the republicans bent all their endeavours to involve the King in a foreign war. Their hope (which was amply justified by the event) was, that their cause would thus be strengthened by being identified with that of the national honour; and an address was voted by the Assembly, on the ground of the warlike preparations which the Elector of Trèves and other German princes allowed the emigrants to make in their territories. The King accordingly addressed a requisition to the Elector, who promised compliance; but troops began to be put in motion both by France and the Germanic empire, and the death of the emperor Leopold II. (March 1792) rendered war inevitable.

39. Before this event, however, a change had taken place in the French ministry; and Roland, Servan, and Clavière had been called from the ranks of the opposition to the councils of the King. Dumourier, the new minister of foreign affairs, had many of the qualities of a great man—he possessed high mental powers, combined with self-confidence, and an active spirit of enterprise; but his genius was neutralised by instability of purpose, and though an admirable partisan, he was an inefficient leader of a party. Roland was in every respect his opposite: austere, simplicity, and firmness, he was rather an early Roman republican than a Frenchman of the eighteenth century; and his want of ambition would probably have prevented his emerging from private life, but for the splendid abilities and brilliant character of his celebrated wife. This remarkable woman united the French graces of manner to the elevation of a Roman mind; but her ambition in public life was equal to her virtue and private worth, and her influence over her husband was at times too ostentatiously exercised:—"When I wish to see the minister of the interior," said Condorcet, "I can now get a glimpse of anything but the participation of his wife."

40. The ultimatum of Austria was at length presented: it demanded the establishment of the French monarchy defined by the

repeal declaration of June 23, 1793—the restitution of the church lands, of the confiscated rights of the German princes in Alsace, and of those of the Pope in Avignon. These terms were at once rejected by the revolutionary leaders; and Louis, pressed alike by all parties, each of which expected the attainment of its own objects in the confusion of a war, was compelled (April 20) to issue a declaration of hostility against the Emperor.

41. Two events occupied the Assembly about this time, which evinced the perilous nature of the principles now promulgated. The first was the massacre of Avignon, which, since its recent union with France, had been distracted by tumults between the two parties; till, on the night of 30th October, the popular faction, assembling in force, seized 60 of their chief opponents, who were murdered with every circumstance of revolting atrocity: but the Assembly, notwithstanding the indignation which it expressed at these horrors, found it necessary to grant an amnesty to the perpetrators! The second catastrophe was the revolt of the slaves in St Domingo, which was fomented by the injudicious efforts of a society called the Friends of the Blacks, of which Brissot was a leading member; but the events of this dreadful insurrection, remote from the present course of events, will be afterwards detailed.

42. Meanwhile the war with Austria had commenced; and the disasters of the armies produced the utmost consternation, and increased the power of the Jacobins, who loudly attributed them to the treason of the Royalists. The Assembly, while they disbanded the King's guard, decreed the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris, and condemned all the non-juring priests to exile; but Louis could not be prevailed upon, even by the sense of personal danger, to ratify either of these decrees. The point against the priests was at length (June 10) pressed upon him in a famous letter bearing the signature of Roland, but really written by his wife, in a tone which roused his anger; the Girondist ministers were dismissed, and Dumourier set out for the army. But the new administration, which was taken from among the Feudalists, consisted of men without weight or influ-

ance: and the Girondists, chagrined at the loss of their place, took the ruinous and fatal step of courting the alliance of the mob—thus arousing the passions of which they were themselves the eventual victims.

43. On the 20th of June, a tumultuous body of 10,000 men from the Faubourg St. Antoine, headed by the brewer Santerre, beset the hall of the Assembly under the pretence of demanding an investigation of the conduct of the generals, and of the dismissal of the Girondists. The Assembly, overawed by their perilous situation, received the petition, and the multitude flowed on with increased numbers to the palace. They rushed with angry menaces into the presence of the King, demanding the ratification of the decrees against the priests, and for the formation of the camp near Paris; but Louis replied with dignified firmness—"This is neither the time nor the way to obtain it." A red cap was handed to him by a drunken workman—he calmly put it on his head; and it was not till eight P.M. that the arrival of Vergniaud, Pétion, and Isnard, procured the evacuation of the palace. The heroism of the royal family on this occasion, with the outrageous nature of the insults to which they had been subjected, excited a powerful reaction in their favour. 20,000 citizens of Paris petitioned the Assembly for the punishment of the rioters; and Lafayette, unexpectedly arriving (June 28) from the camp, openly denounced the Jacobins at the bar of the Chamber. But the apathy of his former adherents, and the distrust of the King himself, rendered his efforts unavailing. Finding his influence gone, he returned, dejected by failure, to the army, and was burnt in effigy by the Jacobins. This was the last effort of the constitutional party.

44. The dethronement of the King was now the avowed object of the Republicans and Girondists: the Assembly declared that "the country was in danger," and armed volunteers flocked from all quarters into Paris. On the fête of the 14th July, the King (who then made his last appearance in public) was with difficulty protected by the Swiss guards from the mob; and it became evident that a speedy crisis was inevitable. The expro-

of the conspiracy was originally made on the 4th of August, the minds of the leaders, however, were then once misgoverned by the injudicious manifesto with which the Duke of Brunswick preceded the invasion of France, speedily wrought up the public mind to the requisites of excitement. In this famous document, he "warned the Assembly, that if they did not forthwith liberate the King and return to their allegiance, they should be held personally responsible, and answer with their heads;" and that, "if the palace were closed for the royal family insulted, unexpected and memorable punishment should be inflicted by the total destruction of Paris."

45. These menaces, coming at this crisis of extreme ferment, seemed to leave the Parisians no choice but victory or death. The arrival of a strong federal force from Marseilles augmented the strength of the insurgent party; and the dethronement of the King was vehemently canvassed in the clubs, and demanded from the Assembly by the sections of Paris. At length, at midnight, on the 9th August, the tocsin sounded, and the roll to arms was beat through the city. Danton, at the Cordeliers, declared that "this very night the perfidious Louis prepares the carnage and conflagration of the capital;" and the signal was given to march.

46. The Hotel de Ville was speedily seized, and the magistrates replaced by others selected by the insurgents. The authorities, paralysed by terror, made no resistance; a strong force of national guards, however, mustered for the protection of the Tuileries, which were defended only by eight hundred of the Swiss, and a useless crowd of royalist gentlemen. But Mandat, the commander-in-chief of the national guard, was murdered by the populace at the Hotel de Ville; and it soon became evident that his troops, when his influence was withdrawn, could not be relied on. Many of the national guards at the palace openly raised revolutionary cries: the insurgent columns under Westermann were already advancing to the attack; and the King and royal family, in this dreadful extremity, were compelled to quit the Tuileries, and seek refuge in the hall of the Assembly, where they were received by the President Vergniaud. Meanwhile, a

desperate conflict was raging in the Place Barricade. The grenadiers and cannoniers held their posts, crying, *Vive la Nation!* and the national guards were so divided among themselves as to be incapable of action; but the Swiss held their ground with heroic gallantry, and continued with slaughter the pursuit. But they were unable to follow up their success by pursuit; the fugitives rallied and returned in greater force, headed by a column of Marseillais. The Swiss was forced—and the Swiss, overpowered and outnumbered, were massacred with unmitigated fury, the slaughter continuing during the whole evening and night. The palace gave fall prey to their vengeance in the sack of the palace, which was with difficulty preserved from conflagration and total destruction; the emblems of royalty, and even the statues of the kings, were everywhere destroyed the next day by the orders of the Convention.

47. The new magistrates lost no time in declaring from the Assembly, in the language of conquest, the deposition of the King, the dismissal of the ministers, and the formation of a National Convention. Resistance was hopeless, and the decree was passed which terminated monarchy in France.

48. The storming of the Tuileries and imprisonment of the King had destroyed the monarchy; and the power of the Assembly had passed into the hands of the new municipality of Paris, which was swayed by the Jacobin Club. Of the Jacobin leaders, however, Danton alone had personally co-operated in the revolt of the 10th: Marat, Robespierre, and the others, had lain concealed till the danger was over, when they emerged from their hiding places to claim the credit of the affair. Into the hands of this triumvirate the principal power now fell. Of the three, Danton alone possessed the energy which arises from personal courage: yet he was not a mere bloodthirsty tyrant; and though formidable in general measures, and the principal author of the massacres in the prisons, he was at times humane and even generous to individuals. His own elevation and the ascendancy of his party were his ruling objects; and his gigantic stature and commanding front pointed him out as a leader. Robespierre

was in most respects the opposite of Danton. Insignificant in appearance, yet cherishing ridiculous personal vanity, with a weak voice and vulgar manner, he rose chiefly through the inflexible obstinacy with which he adhered to his opinions, and the success with which he veiled, under the mask of patriotism, his unvarying projects of selfish ambition and sanguinary vindictiveness. Marat was the worst of the three. The atrocity of his character was stamped on his features, which were the expression of a demon; and though others in the Revolution were guilty of perpetrating more sanguinary deeds, none was so powerful in recommending and forwarding their commission. He frequently said that there could be no safety to the state till 200,000 heads had fallen: but death by the hand of a heroine cut him short in his relentless career.

49. After the success of the revolt, Danton had assumed the office of minister of public justice, while the Girondist ministers, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, resumed their former functions. Three days after the massacre of the Swiss, (Aug. 13,) the royal family, at the command of the commune of Paris, were transferred to the prison of the Temple; while all the departments of France submitted almost without opposition to the ruling party. The army at Sedan, commanded by Lafayette, at first appeared disposed to make an effort in favour of constitutional monarchy; but this feeling was counteracted by the influence of the inferior officers; and Lafayette, compelled to seek safety in flight, was imprisoned by the Austrians for four years in Olmutz, while the Assembly declared him a traitor, and set a price on his head.

50. The Jacobin ascendancy was not long in making itself felt. Intimidated by the menaces of the commune, addressed to them through Robespierre, the Assembly instituted (Aug. 17) a court for the trial of political offences, afterwards known as the Revolutionary Tribunal. But the proceedings of this court were at first too slow for the dominant party; and the savage designs of the demagogues were favoured by the terror arising from the advance of the Prussians and the fall of the frontier fortresses. On 29th August the city barriers were closed, and remained so for two days, during

which time great numbers of all ranks, chiefly nobles and clergy, were seized in their houses, and imprisoned by order of the commune. The denunciations of the Assembly were treated with contempt: the lists of proscription had been drawn up by Danton, and the catastrophe was not long deferred. At two in the morning of 2d September, the city drums were beat, ostensibly for the march of the Parisian battalions to reinforce the armies of the frontier. It was the concerted signal of massacre; and the chosen assassins, liberally supplied with money and spirits, and harangued by Robespierre, Billaut Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, were speedily ready for every atrocity. The Abbaye was the prison first attacked; the victims, seized separately, were dragged before an inexorable tribunal, and turned out among the murderers in the court, through whose repeated blows they were compelled to run the gauntlet till they expired—while the multitude, among whom were a vast number of women, danced like cannibals round their mangled corpses. Similar massacres took place in all the other prisons; in that of the Carmes, the venerable Archbishop of Arles was slaughtered, with more than 200 clergy. The Princess de Lambelle, who was a prisoner in La Petite Force, was torn to pieces, and her head, with the fragments of her body, paraded before the windows of the Duke of Orleans, who rose from dinner to enjoy the ghastly spectacle. Above 5000 persons perished in the various prisons during this dreadful scene of carnage, which continued uninterrupted from the 2d to the 6th of September. Even the felons in the Bicêtre, whose offences had no political character, were massacred in the indiscriminate thirst for blood, which only ceased when no more victims could be found. The confiscation of the whole effects of the slaughtered captives, and of the property of the emigrants, which was sold at the same time, because the source of immense wealth to the municipality; but no account could ever be obtained either of the amount or disposal of this enormous plunder. The jewel-office in the Tuileries was also pillaged one night, and the costly ornaments of the crown disappeared for ever, but it was never known into whose hands most of the jewels fell.

V. National Convention—Execution of the King.

51. In the midst of these horrors the Legislative Assembly drew near its close. The deputies for the NATIONAL CONVENTION, which met on 20th September, had everywhere been elected under the irresistible influence of the Jacobin Club and its affiliated societies throughout France; and their first and unanimous measure was to abolish monarchy and proclaim a republic—the calendar being changed at the same time, and the year styled “the first of the French Republic.” But the fury of party spirit soon broke out with redoubled violence; the Girondists (who were now the Moderates) occupying the seats on the right, the Jacobins those on the summit of the left, (whence their nickname of the Mountain,) while the neutrals were called the party of the Marais, or Plain. The sittings of the Jacobin Club, all the leaders of which sat in the new Convention, still continued in the hall of the convent whence they took their name, and were seldom attended by less than 1500 members; and in this den of darkness and crime were prepared the lists of proscription and massacre which will ever render odious the name of that terrible faction. The Girondists had no place of reunion except the parties of Madame Roland, where all the talent developed by the Revolution, and all the remaining elegance of the capital, were wont to assemble. The Duke of Orleans, who had abdicated his titles, sat in the Convention as Philippe Egalité.

52. The first attacks of the Girondists were directed against Robespierre, whom they accused of aspiring to the dictatorship. This charge, as well as an accusation brought against Marat, were abandoned through timidity by the Girondists, on whom the Jacobins recriminated, by taxing them with the design of dividing the Republic, “one and indivisible,” into twenty-three confederated states like those of America. A more formidable charge relative to the recent massacres, which was urged against Robespierre by the intrepid eloquence of Louvet, was foiled by a motion to pass to the order of the day; and it was soon evident

that the delegates who had supported the Girondists as long as they urged forward the Revolution, would become their mortal enemies if they chose to ally its fury. But these and various minor struggles between the hostile factions, were preliminary to a grand question destined to attract the eyes of Europe and of the world. This was the trial of Louis XVI.

53. The Jacobins had for some time been occupied in preparing the nation for this great event, and for the tragedy in which it was intended to terminate. The most inflammatory harangues were constantly delivered, both at their central club and the societies in the departments; petitions presented at the bar of the Assembly; and every corner searched for circumstances which might increase the popular odium against the unfortunate monarch. A further discussion arose as to whether Louis could legally be tried by the Convention, as his personal inviolability had been decreed by the constitution; but this question, after violent debates, was carried in the affirmative. The Jacobins even urged that his condemnation was involved in his dethronement; and Robespierre called on the Convention to "declare the King traitor towards France and human nature, and sentence him instantly to death;" but it was decided, through the influence of the Girondists and neutrals, that he should begin on his trial.

54. Since their captivity, the royal family had found their comforts abridged from time to time by the cruel persecutions of the municipality. At first they were permitted to live together, and to soothe the rigours of confinement by the enjoyment of domestic affection; but their seclusion gradually became more rigorous. Every day they were visited and insulted by Sansonnet with his brutal staff; their writing materials, and even the scissors and needles of the Queen and princesses, were taken from them; and at last the King and Dauphin were separated from the royal ladies. This last piece of useless barbarity almost overthrew the heroic firmness with which the King had sustained his calamities; but the close of his trials was approaching. On the 11th of December he was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention; and, surrounded by a strong escort,

he was carried through the vast crowds which filled the streets to gaze at him instead of spectacle, to their hall of meeting.

55. The bold intrepidity with which Louis confronted his accusers melted for a moment the most fanatic among them; and some of the Girondists even shed tears. The president, Barrère, directed him to be seated; and the charges were read, which consisted of an enumeration of all the crimes of the Revolution. All were laid to his charge: but his enemies were perplexed by the simplicity and firmness of his replies; and he denied with indignation his having authorised the bloodshed of 10th August. After his examination he returned to the Temple, but he was no longer permitted to see his son or any of his family; and on the following day he was directed to choose his counsel. Of the two whom he selected, one, M. Target, had the baseness to refuse; but the other, M. Tronchet, (afterwards honoured and promoted by Napoleon,) accepted the sacred duty, in which he was aided by a celebrated pleader named de Séze, and by the venerable Malesherbes, who volunteered his services on behalf of his fallen master. On the 26th December, Louis again appeared before the Convention, where his defence was conducted by M. de Séze, who examined the whole life of the King, and proved that in every instance he had been actuated by the sincerest love for his people. He concluded in these words: "Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty, and even then set the example of an irreproachable life. . . . He proved himself from the first the friend of his country. The people desired the abolition of a destructive tax—the abolition of servitude—a reform in the criminal law: all were granted. They demanded that thousands of Frenchmen should enjoy the political rights from which the rigour of our usages excluded them; and this also he granted. He even anticipated their wishes: yet this same people now demand his punishment. I add no more. I pause before the tribunal of history: remember that it will judge your decision, and that its voice will be the voice of ages."

56. After the withdrawal of Louis, a violent discussion arose. Lanjuinais even boldly proposed to rescind the decree by which the

King had been called to trial. "If you insist on being judges," said he, "cease to be accusers." The Jacobins responded by furious cries: "Away with the accused deputy! let the friends of the tyrant perish with him!" and at length the contest was diverted by the proposition of an appeal to the people, the discussion on which lasted twenty days. St Just and Robespierre were the most powerful declaimers against the sovereign. Vergniaud replied in a strain of impassioned eloquence, not venturing, however, to impugn the justice, but the expediency of the measure. The Girondists were in truth hurried away by the torrent, and trembling in fear of their own ship by the violence of the Jacobins; and Louis was unanimously found guilty. Of 726 members, 8 were absent; 37 qualified the sentence; 683 simply declared him guilty. The appeal to the people was rejected by 423 to 281.

57. The further debate, "What shall be his punishment?" lasted forty hours. The Duke of Orleans voted for death; and the same sentence was pronounced by Carnot and other sincere and honest republicans, from a mournful conviction of its necessity for the establishment of their system. The votes of the Jacobins could not be doubtful; but it was yet in the power of the Girondists to have saved the King's life. Vergniaud, however, with forty-five others of his party, though in truth anxious to rescue the royal victim, voted for his death; and this sentence was carried by a majority of 26, in 721 votes. The result was announced by Vergniaud as president—"In the name of the Convention, I declare that the punishment of Louis Capet is death."

58. Louis was fully prepared for his fate. When Malesherbes came to the prison to announce the result, the King said, "For two hours I have considered whether, during my whole reign, I have voluntarily given cause of complaint to my subjects. With perfect sincerity I declare, when about to appear before God, that I never formed a wish but for their happiness, and that I deserve no reproach at their hands."

59. On the 20th January, Santerre arrived from the municipality

with the assistance. The King requested a respite of three days for preparation, an interview with his family, and to be allowed the Abbé Edgeworth as a confessor. The last two demands were granted, but the execution was fixed for the following morning. The terrible scene of the parting interview lasted two hours. At length the unfortunate family separated, and the King spent the remainder of the evening in prayer with the Abbé Edgeworth. From twelve to five o'clock he slept peaceably: at nine in the morning Santerre presented himself at the Temple. The passage to the Place de la Revolution (formerly called Place Louis XV.) lasted two hours; and at the foot of the scaffold the King received the sublime benediction of his confessor—"Son of St Louis, ascend to heaven!" He attempted to address a few words to the multitude, but his voice, at the order of Santerre, was stifled by the noise of the drums; and the descending axe of the guillotine terminated his existence.

60. The character of this unhappy monarch cannot be better given than in the words of one of the ablest of the republican writers:—"Louis was perhaps the only monarch who was subject to no passion, not even that of power; and who united the two qualities most essential in a good king—fear of God, and love of his people. He fell the victim of passions which he had no share in exciting; of those of his supporters, to which he was a stranger; of the multitude, which he had done nothing to awaken. Few kings will have left so venerated a memory." But we must not forget, in the contemplation of his touching virtues and unexampled sufferings, the ruinous consequences of his irresolution and weakness. "Had Louis XVI.," said Napoleon, "shown half the courage and firmness of Charles I., he would have triumphed." Still his resignation in adversity, charity in suffering, and heroism in death, will never be forgotten.

STATE OF EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE WAR, 1792, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE DIRECTORY, 1795.

I. State of Europe prior to the Commencement of the War.

61. The position of France, in the very centre of civilisation, renders it impossible for the neighbouring kingdoms to escape its moral influence. The three great powers of Europe at this period were Austria, Russia, and Great Britain; and on them accordingly fell the weight of the desperate struggle which ensued.

62. Britain, like the other European monarchies, had slumbered on, prosperous and contented, and mostly inglorious, during the eighteenth century. The loss of her American colonies had been more than compensated by her Indian conquests; and though her national debt of £244,000,000 was a severe burden, the flourishing state of her commerce and agriculture had produced a surprising accumulation of capital: the 3 per-cents had risen from 57, at the close of the American war, to 99; and the revenue reached £16,000,000. Her army numbered only 32,000 men at home, and an equal number in the colonies; but these forces were rapidly augmented after the war began. The reputation of the British troops, however, had been seriously tarnished by the disastrous contest in America; and the abuses existing in the military department tended greatly to impair its efficiency. Her real strength lay in her inexhaustible wealth and public spirit, and in her fleet of 150 ships of the line, which gave her the undisputed command of the seas.

63. Public opinion in Britain, as might have been expected, was greatly divided on the French Revolution. While it numbered among its partisans not only the factious and restless, to whom any change was grateful, but many ardent and enlightened spirits, who hailed it as the dawn of a new era of freedom—it was, on

the other hand, regarded with utter horror by all the adherents of the church, and the majority of the aristocracy and opulent classes, who apprehended nothing but anarchy and spoliation from its contagious example. At the head of these two parties respectively stood the illustrious names of Fox and Pitt. Fox had long held, by his ardent and impassioned eloquence, the post of leader of the Opposition; and his uncompromising devotion to the popular cause now led him to advocate, with all the fire of his oratory, those frantic innovations of which the neighbouring country was the scene. But neither his intellect; nor his judgment, was equal to his powers as a debater—a capacity in which he shone unrivalled; and though the generous warmth of his heart secured him the attachment of numerous personal friends, the irregularities of his private life diminished his weight as a public character. In this point particularly he stood in disadvantageous contrast to the irreproachable purity of his great rival Mr Pitt, who, at the commencement of the Revolution, was at the head of government, and supported by a decided majority in parliament—having held this post since the fall (Dec. 1783) of the Coalition ministry of Fox and North. Inheriting the talents and patriotism of his illustrious father Lord Chatham, he united to them an invincible coolness and moral courage, a readiness in resource, and eloquence in debate, together forming a combination of great political qualities which have never been excelled. Called to the helm at the age of twenty-six, he had foiled the most powerful Opposition which Britain ever saw; and though watching with anxious attention the progress of affairs in France, he had hitherto persisted in maintaining a strict neutrality.

64. A third party was composed of that section of the Whigs who supported the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, but opposed those of the French. At the head of these stood Mr Burke, who had long been united to Mr Fox, both by political alliance and the warmest private friendship; but these ties had been severed by their difference of opinion respecting France. This memorable rupture was announced in a debate on the new constitution of Canada, (May 2, 1791,) when Mr Fox deplored,

even with tears, the rending asunder of the friendship of a quarter of a century. But time, the great test of truth, has decisively vindicated the prophetic sagacity of Mr Burke.

65. The Austrian empire, both from its geographical position, its military strength and resources, and the stability of its policy and government, was the most formidable Continental rival of France. At the commencement of the war, it had a revenue of 90,000,000 of florins, and a population of 25,000,000; while its army amounted to 240,000 infantry, and 35,000 cavalry, with a numerous and powerful artillery. The possession of the Low Countries gave the Emperor an advanced post close to the French frontier; while the mountains of Tyrol formed a vast fortress placed at a salient angle between Germany and Italy. The foundation of the modern grandeur and prosperity of Austria had been laid by the sage administration of Maria-Theresa: but a new system was introduced at the accession (in 1780) of her son Joseph II. In his anxiety to remodel every department in church and state on philosophic principles, this amiable but injudicious prince excited the discontent of his subjects by his sweeping and needless reforms; and the Flemings, whom he had alienated by an attempt to exchange their country for Bavaria, (a project prevented only by the armed intervention of Prussia,) revolted in defence of their old usages and feudal customs, at the same time (1789) when the French were rising in rebellion to overthrow theirs! This ingratitude (for so he considered it) shortened the days of Joseph; and Leopold, his successor, easily re-established his authority in Flanders; but the demolition of the famous barrier fortresses of the Low-Countries, which Joseph had razed to prevent them becoming strongholds of disaffection, was fatally felt in the first campaigns of the French war.

66. Though the house of Hapsburg was still the head of the unwieldy fabric of the Germanic empire, its real authority as such was inconsiderable; and the contingents of troops which the various states were bound to furnish, at the requisition of the Diet of Ratisbon, were little to be depended on. But Prussia, though still nominally a member of the empire, had been raised into a

celebrate poster by the genius of the Great Frederick; and its army, during the Seven Years' War, was considered the finest in Europe. Its ordinary strength was 180,000 men; but, as a short period of military service was compulsory on the whole youth of the kingdom, it could be augmented at once to a far greater amount from a population thus trained to arms. The government was a military despotism: but the rights of the subject were protected by the beneficent policy of its administration; the maxim of which was "everything for the people—nothing by them." Still there were few elements of national coherence in the monarchy: its 8,000,000 of subjects were of various races, languages, and religions; and its territory possessed neither fortresses, nor any strong line of natural frontier, to guard it against invasion.

67. Since the Seven Years' War, the formidable might of Russia had become better appreciated than before in Western Europe; and her military renown had been enhanced by the recent exploits of Suwaroff, in the bloody wars of the Empress Catherine with the Turks. Its regular army, in 1792, amounted to 200,000 men, besides the well-known Cossacks of the Don and their kindred tribes, the best irregular horse in the world. The hardihood, immovable firmness, and obstinate bravery of the infantry had long been celebrated; but the cavalry and artillery were far inferior to what they became before the end of the war, when France saw 150,000 Russians reviewed on the plains of Burgundy. Of the other northern powers, Sweden (which had lately gloriously concluded a war with Russia) had, from her remoteness and scanty population, little weight in the political scale; and Poland, though the final partition had not yet taken place, could no longer be regarded as an independent state.

68. The ancient power of the Turks had by this time subsided into a purely defensive policy; and though their brilliant cavalry, and the desperate valour with which their walled towns were defended, made them formidable to an invading army, they were incapable of any important exertion beyond their own territory. The Italians, with the exception perhaps of the

Piedmontese, no longer held a place among military nations; and the Dutch, though they had still an army of 45,000, had greatly declined from their ancient spirit. Spain, at the commencement of the war, had nominally 140,000 troops: but this force was far from effective, either in discipline or equipment; and the firmness which characterised the Spanish infantry of the Middle Ages had long passed away. The Swiss alone remain to be noticed; but their small numerical strength, which did not exceed 33,000 regulars, rendered their courage and patriotism of little avail in the stupendous struggle about to commence.

69. Such was the state of the European military establishments. The French army, before the war, amounted to more than 200,000 men, 35,000 of whom were cavalry; but many of these had left their colours during the previous convulsions, and the newly-acquired habit of judging for themselves on politics had loosened the bonds of discipline among the soldiers. Two hundred battalions of volunteers had been raised by a decree of the Assembly; but the efficiency of these new levies was not equal to their spirit. "It was not the volunteers or recruits," said Napoleon afterwards, "who saved the republic, but the 180,000 old troops of the monarchy." The artillery and engineers, however, which had not under the old regime been exclusively officered by nobles, were from the first superior to any in Europe; and the defects of the other branches were speedily remedied by the vigour of the middle classes, to whom the Revolution had now opened the path of promotion.

70. The Revolution surprised the European powers in their usual state of smothered jealousy or open hostility with each other. Catherine of Russia was occupied by her designs on Turkey, in which Joseph II. participated, and which had been ostentatiously proclaimed to Europe by a joint tour of the two potentates to the Crimea. Frederick the Great had concluded in 1785 the "Confederation of Berlin" for the support of the smaller German states against Austrian aggression; but his death in the following year was an irreparable loss, as his successor, though endowed with distinguished valour and abilities of no mean order, was

disqualified by his indolence and love of pleasure from treading in the steps of his predecessor. A closer alliance had also been formed (1790) by the exertions of Mr Pitt, between Britain and Prussia, in order, by their joint intervention, to arrest the career of Austrian and Russian conquest on the side of Turkey, by which the balance of power was threatened, and the war was eventually terminated by this powerful mediation. The general alarm which now began to be felt at the progress of the French Revolution, was not without influence in this rapid pacification; still, during the first two years, Mr Pitt in Britain, Kaunitz at Vienna, and Hertzberg at Berlin, had concurred in abstaining from interference with France, contenting themselves with adopting measures for preventing the spread of revolutionary contagion into their states. The Empress of Russia, on the other hand, had from the first warmly advocated measures of coercion; and circumstances ere long occurred which compelled the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna to abandon their moderate councils.

71. Since Louis was brought a prisoner to Paris (October 1789,) he had recommended the King of Spain to abstain from any public act in his name which was not confirmed by an autograph letter; and in December 1790, he even solicited, by a circular to the monarchs of Europe, their armed intervention to save the monarchy. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Mantua (May 1791) between the Emperor and the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, by which it was agreed that a formidable display of troops should be made on the French frontier, in the hope of terrifying the people into submission to their sovereign. But before this could be carried into effect, the unsuccessful flight of the royal family to Varennes, and their open imprisonment by the revolutionists, made stronger measures necessary, and led to the famous meeting at Pilnitz (August 1791) between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, who conjointly issued a declaration that "they considered the situation of the King of France a matter of common interest to all European sovereigns," and were resolved to "enable the King to establish a monarchical government conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French

nation." The liberation of the royal family, however, and the King's acceptance of the constitution, removed any immediate apprehension for their personal safety; and though Sweden and Russia continued to urge the German courts to a hostile demonstration, no steps were taken in pursuance of the Pillnitz manifesto.

72. But the Girondists, who were now the ruling party in France, were bent on war at all hazards, in the hope to strengthen their own cause by identifying it with that of the national independence. Izard, Vergniaud, and Brissot continually poured forth in the Assembly philippics against Austria, denouncing that power as the enemy of liberty, and calling on France to anticipate its hostility. The reclamations of the Emperor against the infringements by the French of the rights of the German princes in Alsace, afforded a pretext for hastening the declaration of war, which Louis was compelled to publish (April 20, 1792) against Austria. The Emperor Leopold, however, had died on the 1st of March preceding, leaving his extensive dominions to his son, Francis II., and his ally, Gustavus of Sweden, was assassinated a fortnight afterwards at a masked ball. It seemed as if Providence was preparing a new race of actors for the mighty scenes which were to be performed.

II. Campaign of 1792.

73. France, having decided on war, directed the formation of three considerable armies. In the north, 40,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry, under Marshal Rochambeau, lay from Dunkirk to Philipville; Lafayette, in the centre, had 45,000 foot and 7000 horse; and the course of the Rhine, up to Bale, was guarded by Marshal Luckner with 35,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. In the south, General Montesquieu with 50,000 men defended the Rhone and the Pyrenees. But these armies were formidable only from their numbers; their discipline was extremely defective, and the spread of revolutionary doctrine had destroyed their habits of subordination and obedience. To oppose them, however, only

50,000 Prussians and 65,000 Austrians, with 7000 emigrants, were yet in the field : Britain was neutral ; and the Russian legions, released from the Danube by the treaty of Jassi, were gradually converging from all points towards their destined prey in Poland.

74. Encouraged by the smallness of the Austrian force in the Low Countries, the French determined on the invasion of Flanders, which they entered at four different points (April 28.) But no sooner did the various corps encounter the enemy, than, exclaiming that they were betrayed, they fell in headlong confusion ; and General Dillon, who commanded the division advancing from Lille against Tournay, was murdered by his own mutinous soldiers. The blame of this disgraceful rout was thrown by the Jacobins and war party on Rochembeau, who was accordingly dismissed : but the aged Luckner, who replaced him, was equally unsuccessful ; and Lafayette sustained a partial defeat near Maubeuge. The troops fell into the utmost state of disorganisation and discouragement after these defeats : and the Prussians anticipated no difficulty in the discomfiture of this " army of lawyers," for whom they had conceived the utmost contempt. In the mean time the Allies accumulated on the frontier ; and their commander-in-chief, the Duke of Brunswick, prepared to enter France by the plains of Champagne.

75. Since the death of Frederick the Great, whose friend and companion in arms he had been, the Duke of Brunswick had been considered the ablest prince in Germany : his understanding was quick and vigorous, his knowledge various and extensive, and his military talents of a high order. But he was immersed in pleasures and intrigues, and haunted by the fear of endangering his former reputation : he had besides, as is now known, opened secret communications with Silesians and the French philosophers, who had even held out to him hopes of ascending the throne of that country under a new regime. The Prussian cabinet, at the same time, intent above all things on securing a full share of the spoils of Poland, had taken the lead in the coalition chiefly to gratify and propitiate the Empress Catherine, whose predominant wish was the extinction of the revolutionary

principles in Europe, and was little aware of the difficulties to be surmounted in the struggle against France. The Duke of Brunswick alone fully comprehended the danger, in a famous memoir addressed to the King of Prussia strongly urged "immediate and decisive operations; for the French are in such a state of effervescence, that, if not crushed at the outset, they may become capable of the most extraordinary resolutions"—a prediction fatally verified in the history of the next twenty years.

76. On 25th July (the same day on which the King of Prussia joined the army) was issued the famous proclamation, the particulars of which have been given in a previous section (p. 28.) The consequences of this ill-judged manifesto were foreseen and denounced by the Duke of Brunswick, who was obliged, in his official capacity, to sign it; and his predictions were speedily verified by the indignant spirit of patriotism and resistance which it excited among the French people. Meanwhile the whole Allied army, 112,000 strong, entered France, (July 30,) and advanced against the line of fortresses which covers the eastern frontier of the kingdom, opposed by the French troops, who, though more than equally numerous, were ill-officered and ill-disciplined, and paralysed besides by the news of the events then in progress in Paris. Longwy surrendered (Aug. 23) after a siege of only three days: Verdun shared the same fate, (Sept. 2;) and the campaign might have been at once decided, either by a rapid march on Paris, or an attack on the French headquarters at Sedan, where Lafayette, on learning the Parisian massacres of 10th August, had deserted his camp, and taken refuge in the Austrian lines. But the unaccountable delays of the Allied generals enabled Dumourier, who now assumed the command, to occupy the wooded dells of Grandpré and Islettes, in the forest of Argonne, where he attempted to make a stand. His position was outflanked, however, by Clairfait and the Austrians at Croix-au-Bois (Sept. 24); he seized the French, 10,000 of whom were routed at once by 1,500 Prussian hussars; and it was with difficulty that Dumourier effected an orderly retreat to St. Ménéhould, whither his reserves and detached corps were

drawn together. He was followed by the Allies, who, crossing the Aube, (Sept. 18,) interposed themselves between the French army and Paris; and a partial engagement ensued at Valmy on the 20th. No decisive advantage resulted to either side from this action; but, from the successful resistance which the raw levies of the French opposed on this day to their veteran antagonists, may be dated the commencement of that self-confidence which carried them victoriously to Vienna and Moscow.

77. The dilatory movements of the Allies at this juncture are partly to be explained by a secret negotiation which Dumourier was carrying on with the King of Prussia; and even after the dethronement of Louis at Paris, the French general still contrived to amuse Frederick-William with delusive hopes of his espousing the royalist cause. In the mean time, in spite of repeated orders from the Convention to march for the protection of Paris, he maintained his post at St Ménéhould, till the ravages of disease in the Allied ranks, and the refusal of the British and Dutch to join the coalition, determined the invaders to retreat. An armistice was accordingly concluded, (Sept. 29,) in virtue of which they restored Longwy and Verdun, and were allowed to retire unmolested—having suffered little by the sword, but having lost one-fourth of their number by fevers and dysenteries.

78. During the progress of these decisive events in the centre, minor movements had taken place on both flanks, in Alsace and the Low Countries. On the side of the latter, an Austrian force under the Archduke Albert, after routing a French corps at Bruillé, had invested Lille; but the garrison of this important fortress, in spite of a bombardment of unprecedented severity, held out till the want of ammunition compelled the besiegers to retire, (Oct. 7.) The offensive operations of General Custine, on the Upper Rhine, were meanwhile signalised by the capture of Mayence, (Oct. 21.) which was treacherously yielded without firing a shot; and the Duke of Brunswick, alarmed at the loss of the only fortified post held by the Allies on the Rhine, hastily transferred his troops to the right bank. The Austrians under Clairfait were withdrawn to the defence of the Low Countries;

and the splendid army, which under proper guidance might have achieved the deliverance of Europe from the scourge of democracy, was thus broken up.

79. Dumourier was now at liberty to renew the invasion of the Low Countries; and he forthwith crossed the frontier at the head of 100,000 men. The Austrians under the Archduke Albert did not exceed 40,000; and their main body, amounting to about 18,000, was strongly intrenched in a position near Jemappes, where it was attacked (Nov. 6) by double that number of French. The assailants, mostly raw troops, were at first checked by the Austrian cavalry and artillery, and driven back with loss: but the youthful Duc de Chartres (afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French) rallied the broken columns, and forced the redoubts in the centre, while those on the flanks were carried by Beurnonville and Dumourier himself. The conflict of Jemappes, the first pitched battle gained by the Republicans, produced an incalculable effect on the spirits and moral strength of both parties. Mons, Tournay, Ghent, Antwerp, &c., opened their gates; Brussels itself was abandoned to the French by the flight of the authorities; and the surrender of the citadels of Antwerp (Nov. 30) and Namur (Dec. 2) completed the conquest of the Low Countries. In the reduction of the former fortress, a French squadron co-operated by sailing up the Scheldt, which, as a violation of the treaty of Munster, declaring that river for ever closed, was the proximate cause of war with Britain and Holland.

80. But Flanders was not long in reaping the bitter fruits of Republican ascendancy. The Convention had published (Nov. 19) the famous resolution, declaring that "they would grant fraternity and succour to every people disposed to recover their liberty," and charging their generals to afford military aid to all such people—a decree equivalent to a declaration of war against all established governments. This was followed up by another manifesto, (Dec. 15.) proclaiming in all the countries conquered by the Republic, "liberty, equality, the sovereignty of the people; with the suppression of nobility and all exclusive privi-

leges, of all subsisting taxes, and all constituted authorities"—and denouncing as enemies "all who refused to accept these benefits!" The Flemings, who were in general strongly attached both to their clergy and their feudal lords, were astounded at these sweeping innovations; but resistance was fruitless. A host of revolutionary agents, headed by Danton, Lacroix, and Carrier, forthwith inundated Flanders; and under pretence of *organising the march of freedom*, drove forward the work of spoliation with stern and insatiable rapacity. The churches and châteaux were everywhere plundered; forced requisitions and enormous contributions levied by military execution, with compulsory payments in the depreciated assignats of France, soon awakened the people from their dream of liberty; and a deputation was sent to Vienna, imploring the Emperor to rescue his repentant subjects. Such were the first fruits of Republican conquest!

81. Another war had, in the mean time, broken out on the south-eastern frontier, in consequence of the refusal of the King of Sardinia to receive an envoy from the Republic. Savoy was suddenly invaded (Sept. 21) by General Montesquiou, and was overrun almost without resistance; while Nice, where there was a strong republican party, yielded (Oct. 1) at the first appearance of the French fleet. The inhabitants, as in Flanders, were rewarded for their friendly reception of the invaders by plunder, massacre, and outrage; and Savoy and Nice were converted into departments of France. Geneva was also threatened with attack; but General Montesquiou, by disobeying the orders of the Convention, prevented this unjustifiable aggression on Switzerland. The defeat of Custine on the Rhine, from the right bank of which he was driven by the Prussians, closed this eventful year.

82. The memorable campaign of 1792 had only commenced in August—and before the end of the year, the most formidable invasion which had ever menaced France had been repelled; Flanders and Savoy wrested from their respective sovereigns; and Mayence, the great frontier city of the Germanic empire, captured.

III. *Fall of the Girondists.*

83. The death of the King was followed by a brief revulsion of popular feeling; the name of Santerre was everywhere execrated, and the general cry of the people was—"He was about to appeal to us, and we would have delivered him!" But these momentary regrets soon disappeared in the renewal of the struggle between the Jacobins and the Girondists, which the recent event had rendered irremediable. The Jacobins, intoxicated with their bloody triumph, reproached the Girondists with having attempted to save the "tyrant;" while the weakness of the latter party was exposed by their having been at last compelled, by regard for their own safety, to leave the illustrious victim to his fate. The first symptom of the approaching fall of the Girondists was the retirement of Roland from the ministry; but the influence of external events of importance concurred in hastening their ruin.

84. The first of these was the accession of Britain to the league against the Republic, and the enormous military preparations which the Convention was obliged to order. By the death of Louis they had come to an open rupture with all established governments; and the reply of one of their armies to the announcement of his execution—"We thank you for having reduced us to the necessity of conquering," conveyed a truth which every day made more apparent. The fate of the Jacobins was thenceforward bound up with that of the country; and the royalists, constitutionalists, and moderates were irretrievably associated in the minds of the people with the enemies of the Republic. The popular riots arising from the scarcity of food, which distracted Paris during February and March, destroyed what little consideration the Girondists still retained. The shops were pillaged, and the Jacobins themselves threatened by the hungry mob; while Marat in his journal revighed against "the monopolists, the merchants of luxury, and the supporters of fraud." The expedient of a *maximum*, or price above which no article of consumption was to be sold, was suggested; but was opposed as

rumours of commerce by the Girondists, and even by the less violent of the Jacobins: the populace, however, insisted on it, and openly talked of the necessity of a new insurrection, "to lop off the gangrened parts of the national representation."

85. Another source of strength to the Jacobins was the unsuccessful movement of Dumourier, who, ever since the death of Louis, which he vainly strove to avert, had been engaged in machinations for the restoration of the constitutional throne. Far from disguising his aversion to Jacobin rule, he openly threatened the Convention with the vengeance of his army. Danton denounced him as a traitor in the Jacobin Club, and he was at length ordered to return from the camp to Paris. Instead of obeying, however, he arrested the commissioners, and publicly avowed his designs; but he was deserted by his soldiers, and forced to take refuge with a few followers in the Austrian lines. This formidable conspiracy, by its failure, only confirmed and secured the power of the ruling party.

86. The first open attempt of the Jacobins to crush their opponents was made (March 10) by the old expedient of a popular insurrection; but various accidental circumstances rendered it abortive. They availed themselves, however, of the agitation thus produced to lay the foundation of the iron net which enveloped France during the Reign of Terror, by the remodelling of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the appointment of committees in the departments, armed with almost despotic powers for the coercion of the "refractory," and the general promotion of revolutionary purposes. Vergniaud and the other Girondist orators in vain opposed these fatal objects with all their eloquence; they were overruled by the vehemence of Danton and his associates; and during the panic caused immediately afterwards by the defection of Dumourier, (whom the Girondists were accused of favouring,) the Jacobins succeeded in establishing the famous Committee of Public Salvation, destined to complete the crimes, and destroy the authors, of the Revolution. This body, though known by the name of the Decemvirs, consisted of nine members, who were invested with plenary authority.

to prepare and execute "whatever laws and measures they might deem necessary for the exterior and interior safety of the Republic."

87. The infatuated Girondists still relied on the personal inviolability guaranteed to them as members of the Convention, by the same constitution which they had violated on that very point in the case of the King. They had recently obtained the election of Pétion, by an immense majority, as mayor of Paris; and, elated by this victory, they ventured to impeach Marat for sedition before the Revolutionary Tribunal. All the elements of discord were invoked by the Jacobins to counteract this vigorous measure: Marat was acquitted, (April 15,) and escorted back to the Assembly in triumph by an immense armed multitude of *Sans-culottes*, as the adherents of the Jacobins were popularly called. Guadet boldly proposed (May 10) to arrest the menaced danger by annulling the Paris municipality, and dividing the Assembly between Paris and Bourges; but this energetic proposition was eventually exchanged for the nomination of a commission of twelve, to watch the proceedings of the commune. The first step of this commission was to arrest Hebert, a noted Jacobin, and author of an infamous journal entitled *Père Duchesne*; but the *Sans-culottes* again (May 25) rose in arms, and besieged the Convention, which, after a desperate contest, was compelled (May 27) to liberate Hebert, and abolish the commission of twelve.

88. The majority of the Girondists had been absent from the Assembly when this decree was extorted; but their forces were rallied on the next day, and on the motion of the intrepid Lanjuinais, it was reversed by a majority of 51. The agitation was instantly resumed with redoubled violence: Henriot received from the municipality the command of the armed force; and on the 31st all Paris rose in arms. The pikemen of the faubourgs, thwarted in their design of pillaging the rich warehouses of the Palais Royal by the determined aspect of the inhabitants, rolled on in a vast tide to the Tuileries, where, with vociferous threats, they demanded the proscription of twenty-two of the Girondist leaders, the abolition of the Twelve, and

the imposition of a maximum on bread. They were seconded by Robespierre and his associates, who accused the Girondists of conspiring against the Republic, and demanded their immediate punishment. At length, on the motion of Barère, the suppression of the commission was decreed. But the revolutionists were not to be contented with this half success, and the final blow was not long delayed.

89. On the 2d of June the Convention was again surrounded by 80,000 armed men, with 100 pieces of cannon, under the command of Henriot, and a vehement debate ensued. Lanjuinais for the last time protested, with energetic but unavailing fervour, against the intimidation and outrage to which they were subjected, and announced his determination to die at his post: Barbaroux followed his example. But all resistance was unavailing. The members, in attempting to leave the hall, were driven back by the armed bands; and at length, with the dagger at their throats, passed a decree for the arrest of Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, Guadet, Pétion, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and twenty-three others of less note. The political career of the Girondists was terminated, and the triumph of the municipality of Paris over the Convention complete.

90. In the interval between their arrest and trial, many of the proscribed members contrived to escape into the provinces; and Louvet, Lanjuinais, and a few others, after passing through dangers which seem like the incidents of a romance, eventually evaded pursuit. The remainder were arraigned in October before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and after a trial of nine days, in which all the eloquence of Vergniaud and Brissot pleaded in vain, were sentenced to death. They were guillotined on 31st October, and all died with the fortitude of the ancient republicans whom they had proposed as their models. The death of Madame Roland, who from her splendid talents had almost become the head of the party, soon followed. Her defence, composed by herself the night before her trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution; but it failed to move her inexorable judges, and she bent her

head under the guillotine with a calm serenity worthy of her past. Her husband, who had escaped from Paris, was soon after found dead on the road between Paris and Rouen, having stabbed himself in that public place that he might not betray the friends who had sheltered him.

91. Thus perished the party of the Girondists, reckless in its measures and culpable for its rashness, but illustrious in talent, and glorious in its fall. Its radical and inherent fault was its irreligion; and the dreadful misfortunes in which its leaders involved their country, proves the inadequacy of the most splendid genius, without that overruling principle, for the right management of affairs.

IV. Campaign of 1793.

92. During the whole course of 1792, Great Britain preserved a strict neutrality; and it was not till the continuance of peace became impossible, that her policy underwent a change. The overthrow of the throne, the massacres of September, and the victories of Dumourier, inflamed the democratic party in France to frenzy. The destruction of all established governments, and the regeneration of the whole human race, were openly avowed as their objects; and an active system of *propagandism* was forthwith put in operation; while the attacks on Savoy and Switzerland showed that these denunciations were not empty threats. At length (Nov. 19 and Dec. 15) the two famous decrees were passed, and transmitted to all the generals on service, of which an account has been given (p. 47;) and which, by promising armed assistance to the disaffected of all nations, placed the Republic openly at war with all established governments. This unprecedented line of conduct, joined with the rapid spread of Jacobinism in England, left the British cabinet no alternative but war: and the aggressions of Dumourier on the Dutch territory, with the opening of the Scheldt in defiance of treaties, hastened the collision. A show of negotiation was sufficient for a time; but the execution of Louis brought matters to a crisis. M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, was ordered to leave England;

and on the 2d February the Convention, on the report of Brissot, spontaneously declared war against Great Britain.

93. Thus forced into war, the British government proceeded (in April) to despatch 20,000 troops under the Duke of York to Holland, where they joined 10,000 Hessians and Hanoverians in English pay. The aggregate of the Allied forces amounted to 305,000, acting on the whole of the French frontier, from Calais to Bayonne; those of the Republicans to 270,000, mostly inferior troops, but united by similarity of language and government: a fresh levy of 300,000 had been ordered by the Convention, but had not yet come into action. In the first impulse of horror at the death of Louis, a close alliance had been signed between the courts of London and St Petersburg, (March 25,) declaring the suppression of the French Revolution to be "the common interest of every civilised state;" and treaties of a similar tenor were concluded by England with Sardinia (April 25)—Spain (May 25)—Naples (July 12)—Prussia (July 14)—the Empire (Aug. 30)—and Portugal (Sept. 26.)

94. But in the midst of this universal martial preparation, it soon became apparent that the French war was, for the present at least, a secondary object with the Czarina to the completion of her designs upon Poland; while the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia was shown by a division of the German armies. Still the disorganisation and indiscipline into which the French troops in Flanders had relapsed, with their deficiency in stores and supplies, afforded the fairest chance of striking a decisive blow against them; but the new generalissimo of the Allies, the Prince of Cobourg, was a soldier of the old methodical school, and utterly unfit to command at such a juncture. The French finances were recruited, previous to the opening of the campaign, by a fresh issue of assignats, to the nominal value of 800,000,000 francs, (£33,000,000,) secured as before on the national domains; while the British exigencies were met by a loan of £4,500,000, from which subsidies were granted to the King of Sardinia and several German princes.

95. The first movement of the campaign was the invasion of the

Dutch territory, early in February, by Dumourier : but after the reduction of Breda and Gertruydenberg, he was recalled into Flanders by the defeat of Miranda, who had been left to besiege Maastricht, but had been driven from his lines by the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles. After reorganising his army, the French commander resumed offensive operations ; and a general action was fought (March 18) at Nerwinde. The French were defeated with the loss of 4000 men ; and such was the dismay with which this disaster inspired their new levies, that several thousands disbanded themselves and returned to France ; and a convention was concluded on 22d March, by which Brussels, Namur, &c., were surrendered as the price of a safe retreat. It soon appeared that this convention was only a prelude to the desertion of the Republican cause by Dumourier. But he was forced, as already mentioned, (p. 50,) to fly for refuge into the Austrian lines ; and the French army retreated upon the frontier fortresses, or formed an intrenched camp at Famars.

96. The failure of this enterprise of Dumourier led to a change in the language of the Allied powers, who, giving up the restoration of monarchy as hopeless, began openly to avow projects of conquest and dismemberment—an impolitic step, which at once changed the contest from a war of liberation to one of aggrandisement. With an unaccountable inactivity, however, Cobourg lay idle with a splendid army of 120,000 men, till the French, recovering from their consternation at the loss of Flanders and defection of Dumourier, resumed the offensive under General Dampierre, and attacked the Allied lines, (May 1.) They were repulsed with loss : and in an action on the 8th, in which Dampierre was killed, the British troops, recently landed, for the first time appeared in the field, and the fate of the day was decided by a charge of the Guards. The Republicans again retired within the camp at Famars ; but this position was stormed by the Allies, (May 23d,) and the French fell back to the famous Camp of Caesar ; while the Austrians and British, following up their success, laid siege to Valenciennes and Condé. Both fortresses were vigorously defended ; but Condé was obliged

to surrender from want of provisions on 13th July; and Valenciennes, when on the eve of a second assault, capitulated on the 28th of the same month. But the raising of the Imperial flag on the walls, announcing the intention to retain them as permanent conquests, not only increased the Prussian jealousy of Austria, but was vehemently protested against by the Count de Provence, (afterwards Louis XVIII.), as a spoliation of his infant nephew, Louis XVII., the son of the murdered King.

97. The operations on the eastern frontier, meanwhile, had been equally favourable to the Allies. The King of Prussia had crossed the Rhine (March 24) with 25,000 men; and Custine, who had only 45,000, retreated to the lines of Weissenburg, whence he was soon removed to the command of the Army of the North, leaving his men under the orders of Beauharnais. The Prussians, in the mean time, sat down before Mayence; and though the non-arrival of the battering-train prolonged the siege for two months, the fortress capitulated (July 22) after a fruitless attempt by Beauharnais to relieve it. The survivors of the garrison, to the number of 17,000, were released on condition of not again serving against the Allies—an unfortunate limitation, as it admitted their being employed against the Venetian revolution. Both Custine and Beauharnais were summoned by the Convention to Paris, and guillotined as an atonement for the loss of the fortresses: the name of the latter has acquired a posthumous celebrity from the fortunes of his widow, Josephine, the subsequent Empress of Napoleon.

98. During the sieges of Valenciennes and Condé, the French army had remained shut up in the Camp of César, unable to keep the field against the victorious Allies; and in this last stronghold they were attacked on the 8th August. The dispirited and disorganised Republicans fled, almost without firing a shot, at the sight of the enemy, and were with difficulty rallied behind the Scarpe, on the last defensible position between the victors and Paris.

99. Never was the revolutionary government in greater danger than now. The frontier, from Bâle to Dunkirk, was covered

with 280,000 troops of the Allies; the barrier of fortresses was broken through, and the hostile armies seemed preparing to march on Paris, while 60,000 Vendéans threatened the capital in the rear; Toulon and Lyons were in revolt; and the Republican forces were inferior in number, dispirited, and half-disciplined. But all the deficiencies of the French were speedily remedied by the extraordinary energy and ability applied to public affairs after the appointment of the terrible Committee of Public Salvation. The whole power of France was called forth; a decree for the levy of 1,200,000 men was soon executed; while a forced tax of a *million* of francs, (640,000,000) confiscations, and the unlimited issue of assignats, gave the government boundless resources, by virtually placing at its disposal all the property of the state.

100. Meanwhile dismay prevailed in the capital, which was only fifteen days' march from the invaders' camp; but the jealousies and selfish policy of the Allied cabinets prevented their generals from following up their important successes. The appropriation of Valenciennes and Condé by the Emperor, and the further schemes of aggrandisement avowed by Thugut, who had succeeded Katnitz at the helm of Austrian affairs, had occasioned a manifest coolness between Prussia and Austria; and the efficiency of the Allied forces was still further impaired by the absurd policy pursued on the Flemish frontier. Instead of vigorously pushing the weakened and depressed masses of the French, the British and their Allies drew off to besiege Dunkirk, while Quesnoy was invested and taken (Nov. 11) by the Austrians. This fatal false step, the blame of which rests entirely with the English cabinet, gave time to the French for the assembling and organisation of their new levies; and, as if further to facilitate the operations of the enemy, the Allies broke up their vast army into detachments, which were scattered all along the Belgian frontier. Pressed by the orders of the Convention, General Houchard at length attacked the covering force before Dunkirk, which was routed; and the Duke of York, finding his flank thus exposed, abandoned his artillery, and raised the siege. Houchard, however, being soon after beaten by an Austrian corps

under Beaulieu, was proscribed and guillotined; and a young officer, hitherto untried, General Jourdan, was nominated commander-in-chief.

101. The Allies were now besieging Maubeuge and Landrecy, with the view of securing winter-quarters in the French territory; and Jourdan was directed by the Convention to relieve the former place. Aware, from the fate of his predecessors, that the alternative was victory or the scaffold, he attacked the Austrian covering force (Oct. 16) at Wattignies, and defeated it with the loss of 6000 men, on which Cobourg raised the siege, and withdrew into winter-quarters beyond the Sambre; while Pichegru, who had succeeded Jourdan, did the same in the intrenched camp of Guise. On the Rhine, meanwhile, the Prussians had remained wholly inactive for two months after the fall of Mayence, contenting themselves with watching the French in their lines at Weissenburg. Wearied at length by the torpor of his opponents, Morcau assumed the initiative, and attacked the Prussian corps at Pirmasens. This bold attempt was repulsed (Sept. 14) with the loss of 4000 men; but it was not till a month later (Oct. 13) that the Allies resumed the offensive, when the Weissenburg lines were stormed by a mixed force of Austrians and Prussians, and the French fled in confusion almost to Strasburg. But this important advantage led to no results, though the defeat of the Republicans was hailed by a royalist movement in Alsace. The Austrians, immovable in their plans of conquest, refused to occupy Strasburg in the name of Louis XVII.; and the unfortunate royalists, abandoned to Republican vengeance, were indiscriminately consigned to the guillotine by a decree of the Convention, while the confederate army was occupied in the siege of Landau. But the lukewarmness of the Prussians had now become so evident, that it was only by the most vehement remonstrances of the Austrian cabinet that they were prevented from seceding altogether from the league; and the Republicans, taking advantage of the disunion of their enemies, again attacked the Allies, (Dec. 26,) who were routed and driven over the Rhine; while the victors, following up

their success, retaken Seines, and advanced to the gates of Mannheim.

102. The operations in the Pyrenees and on the side of Savoy, during this campaign, led to no important results. On the western extremity of the Pyrenees, the Spaniards entered France in the middle of April, routed their opponents in several encounters, and drove them into St Jean Pied de Port. An invasion of Roussillon, at the same time, was equally successful; and the Spaniards maintained themselves in the province till the end of the year, taking the fortresses of Bellegarde and Collioure, and routing two armies which attempted to dislodge them, at Truellas (Sept. 22) and Boulon (Dec. 7.) An attempt of the Sardinians to expel the French from their conquests in Savoy was less fortunate; and, at the close of the campaign, both parties remained in their former position.

103. But during these indecisive operations of the belligerents, the south of France had become the scene of a civil war of a more important character. The insurrection of 31st May, and the fall of the Girondists, had excited violent discontent in these provinces, particularly in the great towns of Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, which were warmly attached to that party. At Lyons and Marseilles the Jacobin leaders were put to death; but the revolt of the latter town was crushed on the instant by General Carteaux; and all the disaffected perished without mercy by the guillotine. A similar fate impended over the Toulonese; but the citizens in this extremity proclaimed Louis XVII., and, admitting the British and Spanish squadrons into their harbour, surrendered the town, with the French fleet in the port, to Admiral Hood. The vengeance of the Republicans, meanwhile, was directed in the first instance against Lyons, the armed population of which, to the number of 30,000, defended the city heroically against Kellermann's army. The siege continued till the 29th July to 10th October; when, after enduring a tremendous bombardment with red-hot shot, which laid most of the buildings in ashes, the besieged were compelled by famine to capitulate. A few, with their brave commander Prety, cut their way

to the Swiss frontier—the remainder were doomed to glut the triumphant barbarity of the Republicans. At the head of the commission appointed for their punishment were the afterwards well-known Fouché, and the wretch Collet d'Herbois, whom the Lyonesse, ten years before, had hissed off their stage as an actor, and who now returned in the plenitude of power to indulge his revenge. The guillotine was too slow for their thirst of blood: the prisoners, bound together by sixties and hundreds, were despatched by volleys of musketry or discharges of grape. These *mitrillades* and *fusillades*, as they were termed, were repeated during many days; and Barère announced to the Convention that “the corpses of the rebellious Lyonesse, floating down the Rhone, would warn the citizens of Toulon of their coming fate!”

104. The ruin of Lyons was speedily followed by the investment of Toulon by 40,000 men under General Dugommier; while the garrison, under Lord Mulgrave, consisted of 5000 British and 8000 Spanish and Italian troops. The principal strength of the place lay in the fortified heights of Faron, Malbosquet, and Eguillette, or Little Gibraltar, which commanded both the town and the harbour; and against them were accordingly aimed the main batteries of the besiegers, directed by a young artillery officer, who here made his first step in the road to fame—Napoleon Buonaparte. A desperate sally of the garrison (Nov. 30) was repulsed with loss; and the works of the Little Gibraltar, against which Napoleon had concentrated his fire, were stormed on 17th December. The capture of this important outwork, by rendering the harbour untenable, decided the fate of the place: the English, fearful of having their retreat cut off by the destruction of their vessels, resolved to embark at once; and on the 18th Toulon was evacuated. Of the French fleet in the harbour, fifteen ships of the line and eight frigates were burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Republicans. Three ships, and as many frigates, were carried off by the English, and only seven ships of the line, with eleven frigates, were saved to the Republic. Near 15,000 exiles, of all ranks and ages, crowded on board the departing fleet, to escape the vengeance of their coun-

trymen. On those who remained, the *fusillades* and *mitrallades* of Lyons were repeated with fearful effect: the very buildings of the city, except the naval and military establishments, were demolished; and the name itself of Toulon, by a decree of the Convention, superseded by that of Port de la Montagne.

V. War in la Vendée.

105. La Vendée is bounded on the north and west by the Loire and the sea, and extends inland as far as Brienne, Thouars, and Niort. It thus corresponds with the four modern departments of Loire-Inférieure, Maine-et-Loire, Deux Sèvres, and Vendée, and contains 800,000 inhabitants. The Loire separates it from the seat of the subsequent Chouan war in Brittany. Its surface mostly consists of gently undulating hills separated by narrow valleys: the Bocage, as its name imports, is covered with trees, but scattered through the hedgerows rather than in large masses; and near the sea, on the south, lie the salt marshes of the Marais. The great road from Nantes to Rochelle is the only one traversing the district, but it is intersected in all directions by deep narrow lanes, which in winter generally become the beds of streams. There are no manufactures or great towns; and the land, at this time, was almost wholly divided into small farms, the tenants of which paid their rents in kind. The peasants were a simple and honest race, devotedly attached to their seigneurs—who, contrary to the habits of other provinces, were all resident among them—and looking up with filial veneration to their pastors, whose life and benevolence rendered them a faithful image of the primitive church.

106. Among a population thus constituted, the tenets of the Revolution were little likely to meet a favourable reception. But the peasants at first submitted in silence; and it was not till they saw their clergy expelled for refusing to take the revolutionary oaths, that their indignation burst forth both in la Vendée and Brittany. The severity with which the first overt acts of resistance were punished added fuel to the flame; and on the attempt

(March 1793) to enforce the levy of 300,000 men ordered by the Convention, a general and simultaneous revolt broke out. 50,000 men of all ranks rose in arms; a carter named Cathelineau was raised, from his intelligence and bravery, to the chief command; Stofflet, originally a gamekeeper, and others of the same rank, were joined in the leadership with the noble names of Lescure, d'Eilbée, de Larochejacquelein, and Bonchamp: Charette, the first of this illustrious band, succeeded to eminence later in the war. Of the forces under their orders, 12,000 under Bonchamp opposed the Republicans on the side of Angoulême: from 20,000 to 30,000 formed the grand army under d'Eilbée; and the army of the Marais, under Charette, numbered 20,000 more. Their method of fighting was adapted to the nature both of the troops and the country. The numerous hedges were lined with concealed musketeers, who, suffering the hostile columns to get fairly enveloped, opened on them a murderous fire from all points, which was kept up till they fell into confusion, when the Royalists burst from their concealment, and fell sword in hand on the thinned ranks of the enemy. In a wooded and impervious country, where every man's hand was against them, the destruction of the Republicans, when once broken, was generally complete; and the peasant victors, after flocking to the churches to render thanksgivings for their triumph, returned home to their customary pursuits, till again summoned to arms by their leaders.

167. The early measures directed by the Convention against the revolted exceeded even the usual spirit of sanguinary ruthlessness. Their soldiers were ordered to exterminate men, women, children, animals, and vegetation; the country being destined to be re-peopled by colonies of patriots. But the humanity of the Royalists, in the early stages of the war, was equally conspicuous with their piety and enthusiastic valor. In one instance only, at Machecoul, in Lower Poitou, were the atrocities of their adversaries retaliated by the massacre of 500 Republicans—a crime which drew after it its own punishment, by stimulating the subsequent desperate resistance of Nantes. At the storm-

ing of Thouars, Chataignerie, and Fontenay, (May,) by the followers of Lescure and Larochejacquelein, not an inhabitant was ill-treated, nor a house pillaged, though those towns had been in the preceding August stained by massacres of Royalists: even their prisoners were dismissed after being marked by shaving their heads. In the mean time, an attempted invasion of la Vendée, through the Marais, had been repulsed by the other chiefs; and all the Royalist bands, to the number of 40,000 men, drew together for a decisive effort. The fortified camp of the Republicans, under the walls of Saumur, was defended by 22,000 regulars, with 100 pieces of cannon and a host of national guards; and the first charge of the Vendéans was repulsed, by a furious charge of cuirassiers; but their impetuosity at length surmounted all obstacles, and their victory (June 10) was a far more important one than any the Allies had yet gained. 80 cannons, 10,000 muskets, and 11,000 prisoners, were the trophies of the day, while the conquerors lost only 60 killed and 400 wounded.

108. After this signal victory the Vendean leaders, instead of advancing on Paris, imprudently directed their forces against Nantes, on the sea-coast, (June 29.) Three-fourths of their army dispersed to their homes after the capture of Saumur: the citizens, who dreaded a repetition of the massacre at Machecourt, co-operated zealously with the Republican troops in the defence; and the fall of Cathelineau, who was struck down mortally wounded, decided the failure of the enterprise. He died a fortnight afterwards, and with him died the best hopes of the Royalist party.

109. During the absence of the grand army before Nantes, a corps led by Westermann, the well-known leader of the insurgents, on the 10th of August, had penetrated into the Bocage, and burnt the châteaux of Lescure and Larochejacquelein: but the arrival of Stofflet and Bonchamp changed the aspect of affairs; and Westermann, after losing two-thirds of his men, with difficulty made his escape with the remainder. A fresh invasion was soon attempted by an army of 30,000 men, under Bonaparte and the fanatical celebrated Santerre; but though d'Elbée (who had succeeded Cathelineau as generalissimo) was defeated at Luçon, (Aug. 15.)

the Republican columns shared the fate of their predecessors, and were mostly destroyed in detail. The Convention, now fully roused to the danger of the war, collected forces from all quarters to crush it: the *levée en masse* of the neighbouring departments was called out; and before the middle of September, 200,000 men surrounded la Vendée on all sides. Among these were the veteran garrisons of Mayence, Valenciennes, and Condé, which had been released on parole on the capture of those places by the Allies, and were commanded by Kleber; but these formidable troops were overthrown at Torfou (Sept. 10) by the heroism of the Vendéans under Lescure; and Beysser's division (Sept. 20) shared the same fate at Montaigut. General Rossignol, on the other side, had already (Sept. 15) been utterly defeated with his column at Coron; and the whole invasion was thus effectually baffled by the heroism of the peasants, and the military talents of their leaders.

110. But these triumphs were only the prelude to disasters still greater. While the Vendéans, seeing the present danger over, had as usual left their standards and returned home, a fresh army was already advancing under General Lechelle, a leader of great ability; and at this critical moment the dissensions of the Royalist chiefs, as to the plan of operations, led to a division of their forces. While Charette drew off to the Isle of Noirmoutier, the followers of de Larochejacquelein were defeated at Chatillon (Oct. 12) by Westermann; and Lescure was mortally wounded (Oct. 14) in a conflict near Chollet. Three days later, a general engagement was fought near the same place; but the Royalists, at first successful, were dismayed by the fall of d'Elbée and Bonchamp, and the onset of the hostile cavalry completed their confusion and rout. The Republicans carried fire and sword with unsparing barbarity through the country; and the Vendéans, followed by their families, to the total number of 80,000, crowded together to St Florent on the Loire, where the whole body, abandoning their native land amid loud lamentations, crossed the river into Brittany, (Oct. 18.) Bonchamp died of his wounds at St Florent, after ennobling his last moments by

saving the lives of the Republican prisoners from the vengeance of his soldiers.

111. Héraud de la Rochejacquelein was now chosen general; and Lechelle, who had flattered himself that the insurrection was utterly crushed, marched in pursuit as soon as he became aware of the transfer of the theatre of war. The Vendéans were attacked at Chateau-Gontier, (Oct. 25;) but their prowess was now stimulated by despair, and animated by the exhortations and example of their heroic leader. So complete was the defeat of the Republicans, that scarce 7000 men could be rallied at Angers after the action; and while the mob of Paris was exulting in the thought that "la Vendée is no more!" it was announced to the Convention by General Lenoir, that "the rebels might now march to Paris if they chose." Had this bold step been taken, it might at once have terminated the war; but the hopes which had been held out to them of effective British succour, if they could secure a seaport, unfortunately determined them to attack Granville. Having no battering cannon, they boldly attempted to carry it by escalade, (Nov. 14;) but the resistance of the Republicans was as brave as the assault; and after a murderous conflict of thirty-six hours, the Vendéans were beaten off with a loss of 1800 men, and retreated from the coast only a few days before the arrival on it of a British flotilla, bearing to their aid 10,000 troops under Lord Morris, which returned to England when the failure at Granville became known to them.

112. This check proved extremely hurtful to the Vendean cause. The troops mutinied against Larochejacquelein; and though the authority of Stofflet succeeded in restoring order, the generals were forced to yield to the wishes of the soldiers, who had not their hearts on returning to la Vendée. Rossignol, with 35,000 men, attempted to bar their march, but in two sanguinary actions at Pontorson and Antrain, the Republicans were driven from the field by the furious onset of the Royalists, who, advancing to Angers, essayed to carry the town by a *coup-de-main*. But they were repulsed with loss, and, unable to pass the Loire in that direction, the Vendean host, worn out with hunger and

fatigue, and encumbered with a helpless train of women and children, turned their steps towards Mans. In this town they were assailed (Dec. 12) by 40,000 Republicans under Marceau, Westermann, and Kleber, and, after a heroic defence, forced in confusion to the plain, where men, women, and children, were involved in horrible and indiscriminate carnage. A few thousands who escaped from Mans were overwhelmed and slaughtered (Dec. 23) at Savenay, fighting to the last with invincible constancy; and of 80,000 souls who had crossed the Loire six weeks before, scarcely 8000 made their way back to la Vendée. Many of these were hunted down and put to death by the Republicans; while others, among whom were Mesdames de Larochejacquelein and Bonchamp, owed their lives to the courageous hospitality of the peasants.

113. While the bulk of the Royalists were absent on this fatal expedition, Charette had remained with a few thousand men in la Vendée, and had fortified the Isle of Noirmoutier as a stronghold. It was captured, however, during his absence, by General Thurreau; and the gallant d'Elbée, who had been removed thither, after being disabled by his wounds in the battle of Chollet, was taken and put to death. Larochejacquelein soon afterwards fell in a skirmish; and the Vendean war would have ended, had the Republicans used their victory with moderation. But the darkest period of the tragedy was now only commencing; twelve corps, aptly denominated *infernal columns*, were formed by Thurreau, with orders to traverse the country in every direction—seize or destroy all the cattle and grain—slaughter all the people—and burn all the houses. These orders were too faithfully executed; and the fugitives from this ruthless proscription formed the germ of the redoubted Chouan bands, which, under Stofflet and the indomitable Charette, long upheld the Royalist cause in the western provinces.

114. But even the horrors perpetrated by Thurreau fell short of the scenes enacted at Nantes, where a revolutionary tribunal, presided over by Carrier, exceeded even the cruelties of Danton and Robespierre. "The principle was," says a Republican historian,

that it was necessary to destroy the mass of prisoners who were thus long in carrying it into effect. At the guillotine, the executioners were too slow in their operations, and the executioners became exhausted with fatigue; the prisoners were carried out in vessels, and drowned by wholesale in the Loire, while armed men on the banks cut down all whom the waves threw ashore alive. In one of these *noyades*, as they were called, 100 priests perished together; in another, 140 women were consigned to death on mere suspicion. Many hundreds of infants were among the victims; and to the entreaties of the citizens in their favour, Carrier replied, "They are vipers; let them be strangled." The waters of the Loire were infected by the multitude of corpses, and even the fish became poisonous from eating putrid flesh. In one month 15,000 persons were either slaughtered or died in prison at Nantes: the total victims of the Reign of Terror at that place exceeded 30,000.

115. The Vendéans in general met death with the most heroic fortitude; and the Breton peasants, though numbers of them were shot for sheltering the proscribed, persevered with generous and undaunted humanity in their efforts in behalf of these hapless fugitives. "The poor people also in Nantes," says Madame de Laroche-Jacquelin, "were exceedingly kind; the ferocious class who aided in the massacres and *noyades* were the little shopkeepers and more opulent artisans"—words which too truly designate the sphere in which revolutionary favour is always most violent and sanguinary.

VI. *Reign of Terror—Execution of the Queen Marie-Antoinette— and of Danton.*

116. On the fall of the Girondists, the most extravagant joy prevailed among the Jacobins at their decisive triumph, and they forthwith proceeded to form a new government, of which the Committee of Public Salvation was the nucleus. Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, were elected members, and speedily ejected their more moderate col-

leagues; Carnot became minister of war, and the other departments of government were divided among the remainder. The Convention, silent and powerless, was compelled to pass a decree, vesting all the powers of the state in the Committee till the conclusion of a general peace; and thus the Terrorists, having completed the destruction of their enemies, prepared to arrest the evils which they themselves had caused, by the sanguinary arm of despotism.

117. The control of the Jacobins was not, however, established without resistance in the provinces. In almost all the towns, the national guards were at first refractory; but the municipal authorities, elected by universal suffrage, were everywhere in the interest of the democrats, and the power thus wielded universally prevailed. In the south, whence came most of the Girondist deputies, the abhorrence of anarchical principles burst out in the revolt whose bloody suppression has been previously narrated.

118. The terrific power held over the lives and fortunes of individuals by the Committee of Public Salvation was riveted more firmly than ever by the Law of the Suspected, (Sept. 17,) which subjected to arrest all who were in any way obnoxious to the ruling powers, or even related to any of the emigrants. The revolutionary committees were frightfully multiplied throughout France—50,000 were soon in operation, embracing not less than 540,000 members, each of whom received three francs in assignats daily from the state; and in the immense numbers thus personally interested in its preservation, is to be found the true secret of the long duration of the Reign of Terror. The prisons were everywhere crowded with victims; the federalists and royalists were sent to the scaffold, and many, whose only crime was wealth, were forced to purchase safety by surrendering it to the state. In the Parisian prisons, the ordinary malefactors were mingled with all yet remaining of dignity, beauty, or virtue; and the scenes which ensued, from the action of the unconquerable elasticity of the French character on this unparalleled association, exhibited the most extraordinary spectacles.

119. In the midst of these evils, one of the tyrants fell by the

hand of a female enthusiast. Charlotte Corday, a young lady of Rouen, of great beauty and masculine courage, conceived the idea that the bloodshed might be checked by the death of Marat, whom she regarded as the originator of all the atrocities. Filled with this resolution, she repaired to Paris, and, obtaining access to him under pretence of communicating intelligence of some Girondist denizens who had found refuge at Caen, stabbed him in the heart. She suffered death with the serenity of a heroine and a martyr; and the apotheosis of Marat was celebrated with extraordinary pomp by the Jacobins, who took this opportunity to arrest 73 members of the Convention, the broken remains of the Girondist party.

120. Marie-Antoinette was the next victim. Since the death of the King, the royal family had continued in the Temple, subjected to every privation and insult: the young Dauphin, by an ingenious refinement of cruelty, had been separated from his mother; and on the 2d August the Queen was transferred to a dungeon of the Conciergerie. After being closely confined there more than two months, she was brought (Oct. 14) before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The trial of a queen by her subjects was new in the history of the world; and though sorrow and confinement had whitened her once beautiful hair, her high spirit still excited admiration; but she was condemned as soon as the form of trial was gone through, and suffered (Oct. 16) on the same spot where her husband perished, with a firmness and Christian hope worthy of the daughter of the Caesars. Few human beings have passed, in a life of thirty-nine years, through more awful vicissitudes, and her character passed pure and unscathed through the revolutionary furnace.

121. The death of the Queen was followed by an act of equal barbarity—the violation of the royal tombs at St Denis. The bodies of the deceased kings were scattered in the air; the glorious names of Turenne and Duguesclin could not save their graves from profanation; and the example was followed up by a general destruction of the monuments of antiquity through France. Nothing now remained to the Revolutionists but to

defy heaven itself ; and accordingly, (Nov. 7,) Christianity was solemnly abjured, at the instance of the municipality, by Gobel, the apostate bishop of Paris. The contagion of infidelity soon became universal. The churches were plundered ; and a female of extraordinary beauty, but loose character, was introduced into the Convention, and afterwards publicly enthroned in Notre Dame, as the representative of the Goddess of Reason ! The calendar had already been changed ; the Sabbath and the services of religion were now abolished, and each month was divided into three decades. Marriage was declared a civil contract, and divorce made legal on any grounds, however frivolous ; the natural consequence of which was an unexampled corruption of morals. All academies, schools, and colleges, were suppressed ; even the hospitals and public charities were not spared in the general havoc, and all their domains were sold as national property.

122. The Decemvirs next proceeded to destroy their former friends, the earliest supporters of the Revolution. Bailly, the first president of the Assembly, was the first who fell (Nov. 11) under Jacobin vengeance ; Barnave, Dutertre, and others soon followed ; and Condorcet only avoided the guillotine by suicide. The generals Custine and Houchard atoned with their lives for their ill success ; and the Duke of Orleans, doomed by the voice of his former friend Robespierre, died, regretted by none, with a firmness of which his former life had shown no promise. Still two parties remained opposed to the Decemvirs, and yet more bitterly to each other—the Anarchists of the municipality and the Dantonists or moderate Jacobins, headed by Danton, Westermann, Camille Desmoulins, &c. This latter party had become estranged from Robespierre since the revolt of the 31st May, with the real objects of which they had been imperfectly acquainted ; and the schism was gradually approaching an open rupture. The exasperation of the strife between the Dantonists and the Anarchists, however, prevented this for a time from becoming apparent ; and Robespierre, dexterously profiting by this singular situation of parties, came to a secret agreement

with the municipality, by which he gave up the Dantonists to their vengeance, on condition of their abandoning the Anarchist leaders—Hobert, Gilotz, Gobel the apostate bishop, Chaumette, and their followers—to the Decemvirs.

123. The Anarchists were first proscribed, and fell (March 24, 1794) almost without a struggle. Their efforts to rouse the populace once more to insurrection proved fruitless, and the unmanly cowardice of these wretches in their last moments showed the native baseness of their dispositions. But Danton and his partisans were not long allowed to exult over their downfall. The effort to reconcile him with his former friend Robespierre failed; and on the night of 30th March he was arrested with Herault de Sechelles, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, and Westermann. On entering the prison, Danton exclaimed, "At last I perceive that in revolutions power finally rests with the most abandoned!" Memorable words from such lips!

124. Their arrest produced a violent agitation, both in Paris and the Convention, and Legendre loudly protested against it. But the fetters of the Assembly were too firmly rivetted to be shaken off, and they crouched before the denunciations of Robespierre and St Just, who charged the accused with having been accomplices in every conspiracy, royalist or anarchist. The absurdity of thus supposing them in league with their bitterest enemies was obvious; but the overawed Assembly sent them to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their indignant defence was cut short by Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser—a man in whom every human passion, even that of avarice, seemed extinct, and who was intent only on bloodshed. They were sentenced to death, and met their fate with stoical intrepidity. "We are sacrificed," said Danton, "to the ambition of a few rascally brigands; but they will not long enjoy their triumph. I drag Robespierre after me in my fall."

VII. *Reign of Terror—Fall of Robespierre.*

The death of Danton was followed by immediate and unqualified submission from every part of France, and even his old friend Legendre declared himself satisfied of his guilt. The Committee of Public Salvation, now confident in its own strength, proceeded to disband the revolutionary army of Paris, and suppress all popular societies which were not offshoots from the great parent club of the Jacobins. The situations of the different ministers were also abolished, and twelve committees appointed to carry on the details of government. The anarchy of revolution had destroyed itself; and from its ruins rose the stern and relentless despotism of a few political fanatics. Robespierre was their undisputed leader; but he was associated with two others more pitiless than himself—St Just and Couthon. The former, the true picture of an austere and gloomy fanatic, was at once the most resolute, the most sincere, and the most inflexible of his party; the latter, mild in countenance and half paralysed in figure, was the creature and tool of Robespierre. Guided by this triumvirate, who excluded all who retained any sentiments of humanity, the Jacobin Club became the complete quintessence of cruelty, and the work of extermination went boldly on. "The vessel of Revolution," said St Just, "can arrive in port only on a sea reddened with waves of blood!"

126 Seven thousand captives were soon collected in the Parisian prisons, and the number throughout France exceeded 200,000. All the comforts at first allowed to prisoners of fortune were withdrawn; and only the coarsest and most unwholesome fare was allowed. The progress of the executions not proving rapid enough for the taste of Fouquier-Tinville, he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy in the prisons; and those whom he declared implicated were instantly led to the guillotine. The procession of death left the prison each day at a stated hour; at first fifteen victims were selected daily, but the number was soon augmented to thirty, and ultimately to eighty. The arrests increased in proportion; no one felt secure for an hour; and

numbers committed suicide from inability to bear suspense. "Had the reign of Robespierre," says Freron, "lasted longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine: the love of life was extinct in every heart."

In the midst of these atrocities, the Convention was occupied in honouring the civic virtues, to the celebration of which were appropriated a certain number of the decadal fêtes. A remarkable speech was pronounced by Robespierre at this period, in which he distinctly avowed his belief in the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul; and on the 21st Prairial, (June 7,) a magnificent fête, in honour of the Supreme Being, was celebrated in the garden of the Tuileries, in which Robespierre officiated as pontiff. As a commentary on this, a decree appeared on the following day, by which evidence against the accused was dispensed with when the tribunal felt convinced; and, armed with this deposition of power, the prescriptions proceeded during the next two months with redoubled vigour. Among the crowd of victims were the venerable Malesherbes, the intrepid defender of Louis XVI.; Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the monarch; Beauharnais, the first husband of the Empress Josephine; and Madame Dubarri, the infamous mistress of Louis XV. The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore. Lavoisier was cut off in the midst of his profound chemical researches: a little time longer would have swept away all the literary talent, and the nobility, of France. A few questions sufficed for a trial, and on leaving court at eight morning at latest, they were led to die. Fouquier-Tinville even proposed to erect a guillotine in the court-room for instant use; but Collot d'Herbois objected to this, as "tending to demoralise punishment." The cruelties in the provinces kept pace with those of the capital, and Carrier at Nantes, and Lebon at Arras, even went beyond their models.

128. But there is a gloom as human suffering—an hour when nature will no longer sustain, and courage rises out of despair. The middle classes, who formed the strength of the national guard,

men to be alarmed at the rapid progress and *evident descent* of the proscriptions, which, beginning with the nobles and clergy, were fast approaching every class above the lowest. In the last days of the Reign of Terror, mechanics and artisans are found on the lists of the doomed; and the revulsion of public feeling was openly manifested. The Convention itself began to tremble, as it was known that many of its leading members were objects of suspicion to the tyrant, whose apprehensions had been increased to the highest degree by a fruitless attempt to assassinate him. Henriot, with others of his violent partisans, strongly urged a new insurrection against the Convention; and Robespierre himself, in the Jacobin Club, made little secret of his intention to decimate the Assembly by the extermination of his old associates of the Mountain,—Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Thuriot, Vadier, &c. On the 8th Thermidor (July 26) the contest began in the National Convention. The discourse of Robespierre was dark and enigmatical; he declared that a conspiracy existed in the bosom of the Convention, and demanded the punishment of the traitors. The menaced deputies, however, defended themselves with intrepidity. "It is no longer time for dissembling," was the bold exclamation of Cambon; "one man paralyses the Assembly, and that man is Robespierre." Billaud Varennes, Vadier, and Freron followed in the same strain; and Robespierre retired, surprised at the resistance he had experienced, but confident of success from the armed movement which had been fixed for the following day.

129. The respite thus afforded was employed by his antagonists in effecting a coalition of their forces: the relics of the Girondists, and the Jacobins of the Mountain, moved by the imminence of the common danger, agreed to bury their differences in oblivion; and Robespierre was confronted in the Convention, on the 27th July, by a phalanx of determined and desperate men. Tallien, in an impassioned harangue, recapitulated the enormities of which the tyrant had been guilty, denounced the plot which he was then framing against the Convention, and ended by impeaching him of treason, with Dumas, Henriot, and others of his satellites:

Robespierre in vain endeavoured to obtain a hearing in the midst of the tumult of applause which followed this address: his voice was drowned by acclamations of "Down with the tyrant!" He quitted the hall in dismay, and was immediately arrested and imprisoned, with the principal adherents. But the municipality was still firm: Robespierre was released by a detachment of national guards, and brought in triumph to the Hotel de Ville; and the armed sections surrounding the hall of the Convention, pointed their artillery against its walls. The fate of the Assembly, for the moment, appeared to tremble in the balance.

130. In this dreadful extremity, the firmness of Tallien and his friends did not desert them. They instantly passed decrees declaring Robespierre, Henriot, and all their associates of the municipality, to be *hors la loi*, (outlaws,) and summoned the national guard to rally for the defence of their representatives. The agitation in the city became dreadful; but Henriot, unable to persuade his cannoniers to fire on the Convention, withdrew to the Hotel de Ville, whither he was pursued by Barras, at the head of such of the national guards as remained faithful to the government. A terrible contest appeared inevitable; but the insurgent troops at first hesitated, and finally refused to resist the decree of the Convention; and the conspirators, finding themselves unsupported, gave way to despair. Lohas died by his own hand; but Robespierre, whose jaw had been shattered by a pistol shot, was seized and dragged in triumph to the Convention, with St Just, Henriot, Couthon, Coffinhal, and all their party. Their trial and condemnation by the Revolutionary Tribunal was soon despatched; and at four in the morning (July 29) they were sent to the scaffold. All Paris was in motion to see the death of the tyrants, none of whom, except St Just, showed any of the firmness which had been so often displayed by their victims. Couthon wept with terror; and Robespierre, mangled and bleeding, uttered a dreadful yell when the executioner tore the bandage from his mutilated features. For some minutes he was exhibited, a ghastly spectacle, to the multitude, whose shouts of execration rang in his ears as the axe descended.

VIII. Internal State of France during the Reign of Terror.

131. Nothing could have enabled France to make head, against both her internal difficulties, and the attack of the European league in 1793, except the immense levies of 1,500,000 men, and the confiscation of half the land in the kingdom, on which was founded a boundless issue of assignats. These great measures, which none but a revolutionary government could have attempted, had at the same time the effect of perpetuating the revolutionary system, by the important interests thus made to depend upon it. During the unparalleled and almost demoniac energy thus suddenly and powerfully developed, France was unconquerable; and it was their combined operation which brought it triumphant through that unprecedented crisis.

132. The civil force exerted at this period was not less wonderful than the military power; 50,000 revolutionary committees were organised, embracing above 500,000 members, whose joint salaries amounted to £24,000,000 annually. All the active and resolute men in France were thus drawn into either the civil or the military service. After the fall of Robespierre, it appeared that the national expenditure had exceeded £12,000,000 a-month, an enormous outlay, which could only be met by an incessant issue of paper-money, in which all government payments were made. But, as a natural consequence, the depreciation of these securities increased in proportion with their quantity, till they at length sank to a twentieth part of their nominal value. The prices of articles of consumption consequently rose, while the means of purchase were wanting; and the alarming height to which the distress and discontent of the lower orders speedily mounted, necessitated the law of the maximum, (May 4, 1793,) by which all holders of grain, &c., were compelled to bring it in, and sell it at prices fixed by each commune. The necessity of feeding the sovereign multitude was obvious and imperative: in Paris, at one time, not fewer than 636,000 persons received daily rations; and the forced requisitions not only of grain, but of horses,

ammunition, and stores of every sort, became an almost intolerable burden to proprietors, who were paid only in worthless assignats. The armies, the state, and the imperious populace of the cities, were in fact supported by public robbery committed on the agriculturists.

133. Another expedient of the government, during the Reign of Terror, was a *forced loan* on the opulent classes, according to the amount of their incomes; while the capital of the previous national debt was virtually extinguished, by being converted into perpetual annuities at five per cent, the state being forever relieved from discharging the principal. All the measures of government, however, notwithstanding their despotic severity, could not sustain the value of the assignats, or keep down the price of provisions; the inevitable ruin which soon overtook the shopkeepers did not diminish the evil; and the Convention was besieged with violent petitions from the starving people. Metallic currency had almost wholly disappeared; and the change of all the weights and measures, with the introduction of the system of decimal notation, bewildered the ignorant as much as the constant fluctuations of the paper-money alarmed the merchants. A Committee of Subsistence was appointed, with absolute power extending over all France; laws were passed, forbidding the baking bread of superior quality; all the animals intended for consumption in the capital were slaughtered in public, and the butchers allowed to deliver only half a pound of meat per head every five days to each family. But all these arbitrary measures did little to mitigate the scarcity; and the impossibility of maintaining the needy and imperious mob, on whose pleasure their own existence depended, was the grand difficulty of the ruling powers throughout the Reign of Terror.

134. Such were the effects produced by the Revolution, before the overthrow of Robespierre, on the value of property. Never in the world before had so great an experiment been made, and never were the disasters of popular ascendancy so fully exemplified. The changes which had been begun in order to avert national bankruptcy, had led to the most unheard-of disasters.

the King, the nobles, and the clergy, who had resigned their exclusive rights to forward the cause of liberty, had either fallen by the guillotine, or were wandering, houseless and destitute exiles, in foreign lands. The merchants, whose jealousy of the nobles had first fostered the flame, were consumed in the conflagration; the commerce, colonies, and manufactures of the country were blasted by a relentless despotism, and a ruinous system of paper currency. The capitalists, who were the principal public creditors, were crushed by the operation of the same cause; while the miserable fundholders of small amounts lost the whole of their little incomes, and were reduced to utter destitution. As the movement advanced, the shopkeepers, whose bayonets, and whose popular fervour so long supported the National Assembly, sank before the fury of plebeian revenge and the law of the maximum; the artisans, deprived of employment by the same causes, became needy suppliants on the government for their daily bread; and the peasants, ground down by the maximum, found themselves stripped of the fruits of their labour at nominal prices, and themselves and their cattle torn from their homes for the service of the armies.

IX. *The War in Poland.*

135. Poland, the *Sarmatia* of the ancients, formerly extended from the Borysthenes to the Danube, and from the Euxine to the Baltic. Prussia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, the Ukraine, Courland, Livonia, all are fragments of its mighty dominion; and the Huns, Goths, and Slavonians, who overspread the greater part of Europe, emerged from its vast uncultivated plains. But notwithstanding its primitive power and extent, the history of Poland, from the earliest times, has been one of continual decay; the greatest triumphs have been immediately succeeded by the greatest reverses, till at length it became the prey of its ancient provinces, and the deliverer of Europe in one age was in the next swept from the book of nations.

136. The cause of this strange phenomenon is to be found in the

the nation, which retained up to modern times all the ecclesiastical independence of the pastoral life. Placed beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, Poland received no infusion of ancient civilisation; it was never either conquered by, or the conqueror of, more polished nations than itself. The feudal system and the representative system continued alike unknown; municipalities and burghers there were none; the clergy had power only as temporal chiefs, and society consisted of only two classes—the serfs who were held in degrading bondage, and the freemen or citizens of the republic. Among these last the most complete and democratic equality prevailed, and it was by the concurrence of the *whole* body that the diets of the nation were constituted. Armed and equipped in all the martial pomp of nomadic life, 100,000 horsemen met on the field of Volo near Warsaw, to legislate and discuss public affairs sword in hand; and as each individual possessed the right of an absolute veto, the unanimity, which would otherwise have been hopeless, was generally attained by the slaughter of the recusants. Liberty and equality had been the ruling principles in Poland for 500 years before they became the watchwords of the French Revolution; and so jealously were they guarded that the jurisdictions of the waywodes, palatines, &c., were never suffered to become hereditary; even the crown, though long enjoyed by the Piast and Jagellon families, was always elective. The kings themselves, unsupported by any military force, were little more than supreme judges; and all the efforts of the greatest monarchs, either for the increase of their own power, or the formation of a regular government, were unable either to overawe or subdue the fierce independence of the nobles.

137. It is true that the impossibility of summoning a general diet on every occasion necessitated the introduction (in 1467) of the representative system to a certain extent; but the deputies sent by the palatinates represented only the nobles, and were rigidly controlled by the mandates of their constituents. Frequently the meetings were superseded by the electors themselves proceeding to hold what were termed “diets under the buckler,”

and after each session *post-comitial diets* were held, when the life of the deputy was in danger if he had deviated from his instructions. But in 1573, on the death of Sigismund-Augustus, the last Jagellon, even the command of the armies and the administration of justice were taken from the crown—the former being vested in the two *hetmans* or marshals of Poland and Lithuania, and the latter in great supreme tribunals composed of nobles. Their history is throughout a series of desperate struggles with the Muscovites, the Tartars, the Turks, and the revolted Cossacks of the Ukraine; or of murderous civil wars between the armed confederations of the nobles, by whose unconquerable valour the state was, however, repeatedly saved, when apparently on the brink of ruin. Blindly attached to their customs, they were destined to drink to the dregs the bitter consequences of a pitiless aristocracy and a senseless equality.

138. The ceaseless anarchy and consequent weakness of Poland had early suggested to the adjoining states the idea of dismembering her territory; and there can be no doubt that her existence was prolonged a hundred years by the glorious triumphs and widespread renown of John Sobieski. Yet the whole reign of this heroic monarch was one incessant and fruitless struggle to "rescue the republic" (in his own words) "from the insane tyranny of a plebeian noblesse;" and with the death of this last of their national sovereigns the Polish power was virtually extinguished. From that day till the first partition in 1772, strangers had never ceased to reign in Poland; the Saxons, Swedes, Muscovites, Imperialists, and Prussians, by turns ruled its destiny, and the partitioning powers needed not to *conquer* a state which had already fallen to pieces. Taught by this terrible lesson, the Poles at length strove to amend their institutions; the ruinous privileges of the nobles were voluntarily abandoned; and the new constitution of May 1791, besides the abolition of the veto, secured religious toleration, and the gradual enfranchisement of the serfs. But it was now too late. The partisans of the old anarchy instantly took up arms, confederated at Targowitz, and invoked the willing aid of the Empress

Catherine, to restore the disorder so profitable to her. The result was the *second* partition, by Russia and Prussia, in 1793.

139. But the individual courage of the Poles still remained unbroken. Headed by the illustrious Kosciusko, they raised the national standard at Cracow, (March 3, 1794,) while the populace of Warsaw succeeded in defeating and expelling the Russian garrison of the capital. Notwithstanding the almost total want of regular troops, the native valour of the patriots enabled them to repulse a combined force of Russians and Prussians from before Warsaw. But the Russians, under Suwarroff and Fersen, speedily poured into the country in such numbers as to make resistance hopeless; and the insurrection received a death-blow from the loss of Kosciusko, who was taken prisoner (Oct. 4) in the fatal battle of Maczielowicz. Warsaw, with its fortified suburb of Praga, still held out; but it was stormed (Nov. 4) by Suwarroff, and 20,000 of the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword—a dreadful carnage, which Russia expiated in the conflagration of Moscow. Poland was now no more; the king was sent prisoner into Russia, and the final partition of the monarchy followed. The remains of Kosciusko's bands, disdaining to live under Muscovite oppression, sought and found an asylum in the armies of France, and contributed by their bravery to bring Napoleon in triumph to the Kremlin.

X. Campaign of 1794.

140. While the land forces of France were gradually rising superior to the obstacles which first opposed their efforts, a different fate awaited her fleets. Power at sea cannot spring from the mere energy of destitute warriors with arms in their hands,—a nursery of seamen must be of gradual formation; and hence the naval superiority of Great Britain was apparent from the first. France, at the opening of the war, had 70 frigates and 75 ships of the line; but most of the officers had emigrated, and had been replaced by men deficient both in education and experience. Britain had 129 ships of the line, and above 100

frigates, while 85,000 seamen of the best description were easily drawn from her extensive merchant service.

141. At the commencement of the session of 1794, the British government, in order to check the rapid growth of illegal and revolutionary societies, resorted to the decisive step of proposing the suspension for six months of the Habeas Corpus; and this measure, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Mr Fox, passed by a large majority. The trials of Hardy, Thirlwall, and Horne Tooke, for high treason, immediately followed; but their acquittal, in spite of the strong evidence adduced against them, was eminently fortunate at the period, as it demonstrated the independence of the courts of justice, and pleased the people with an apparent triumph. The continuance of the war was again fiercely contested in parliament; but the Commons, by a majority of 208 to 55, supported the government. The army was raised to a total amount of 140,000 men, including fencibles and militia, besides 40,000 foreign soldiers on the Continent, in British pay; and a fresh loan of £11,000,000 supplied the deficiencies of the revenue.

142. Meanwhile the ascendancy of the British navy produced its natural effects. In the West Indies, Tobago, Martinique, St Lucia, and Guadaloupe, were all taken in less than a month by Sir John Jarvis and Sir Charles Grey; and in the Mediterranean, where the destruction of the Toulon fleet had totally paralysed the French navy, Corsica, which was disaffected to republicanism, was subdued by a small force; and the offer of its crown to the King of England, by Paoli and the aristocrats, was accepted. But a more glorious triumph was to come. Twenty-six ships of the line, which the French had, by great exertions, equipped at Brest, put to sea under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, for the protection of a large convoy of provisions coming from America, and were encountered (May 28) by the English Channel fleet, of equal force, under Lord Howe. Three days were spent in distant manoeuvring; but on the 1st of June, a day ever memorable in the British naval annals, the decisive action was fought. Bearing down obliquely on the hostile fleet, with the advantage of the wind,

Lord Howe broke their line near the centre, and thus brought a preponderating force to bear on one-half their squadron. Twelve French ships were thus cut off and overpowered; but so shattered were the British by the gallantry of the defence, that four of the number escaped after having struck their colours. The *Vengeur* sank with most of her crew; but six remained in the hands of the British, while the remains of the defeated squadron took refuge in Brest. 8000 were killed or wounded on the side of the French, with a loss of only 1158 to the victors; but the American convoy escaped in the confusion, and got safe into a French port.

142. The vast military preparations of the Republic were meanwhile pushed on with unabated activity: 1,200,000 men in arms were at the orders of the Convention; and after all deductions of garrisons, invalids, &c., upwards of 700,000 remained disposable—a force much greater than all the European monarchies could bring against them. The genius of Carnot, and the system of merit-promotion on which he rigidly acted, gave increased efficiency to these formidable numbers; and incredible efforts were made to forward their organisation and equipment. The jealousies of the Allies, at the same time, had reached the verge of a rupture; and the King of Prussia, engaged in the siege of Warsaw, and unable to support a war at once on his eastern and western frontiers, gave official notice of his intention to withdraw from the confederacy. The Prussians were already retreating from the Rhine, when this injurious secession was prevented by the remonstrances of Mr Pitt; and the cabinet of Berlin, in consideration of an enormous subsidy from Great Britain, engaged to retain 62,000 troops in the field.

144. The campaign was opened on the part of the Allies by the capture of Landau, which yielded (April 27) after a severe bombardment of six days, in spite of all the efforts of the Republicans for its defence. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the capture of Mairial (April 28,) whose corps, forming the right of our allied line, was overwhelmed by a superior force under the Duke of Brunswick, and driven back on Tournay.

Various bloody but indecisive actions followed on the Sambre, and the French were at length repulsed across that river; but in West Flanders the Allies were less successful. On the 18th of May, the scattered columns of the Austrians were attacked and defeated near Turcoing by Souham, with the loss of 3000 men and sixty guns: the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse; and it was only the opportune arrival of Clairfait's division which saved them from total rout and destruction. An attempt to force the passage of the Scheldt (May 22) by the main force under Pichegru, led to a sanguinary action near Pont-a-chin, in which the French were repulsed; but none of these encounters led to any decisive result.

145. The policy of Austria had by this time undergone a change. The Imperial councillors, dismayed by the increasing energy of the French, and finding that no cordial or effective co-operation was to be expected from Prussia, began to regard the loss of the Low Countries, for a time at least, as inevitable, and to speculate on securing an equivalent on the side of Poland and Italy. This resolution, however, was for the present kept a profound secret; and though the Emperor quitted the army for Vienna, the contest continued to be waged with unabated vigour. At the end of May, the Republican generals, stimulated by a threat of the guillotine, attempted to recross the Sambre, and though at first repulsed, at length forced the passage and invested Charleroi. They were routed before the town, (June 3) and again driven over the river; but on the arrival of Jourdan with 40,000 men from the Moselle, they again appeared before the fortress, again to be defeated by Cobourg, whose army on this occasion was little more than half that opposed to him. On the 18th of June, however, the indomitable Republicans crossed the Sambre for the fifth, and commenced the bombardment of Charleroi for the third time, and Cobourg assembled all his forces for its relief. Pichegru took advantage of his absence to besiege and take Ypres, and Charleroi capitulated to Jourdan on the 25th.

146. The surrender of Charleroi was unknown to the Imperialists, who, on the following day, offered battle for its relief with

75,000 men to 85,000 French on the plains of Fleurus. The battle was one of the most obstinately contested which had yet been fought, and ended without any decisive result. The French had given way on both wings, and their centre was shaken, when the fall of Charleroi became known to the Austrian generals, who, in obedience to their secret orders, immediately fell back. The advantages of victory thus remained with the French, who, pressing their opportunity, advanced from Charleroi and Cobourg, first evacuating Mons, abandoned Brussels, after some partial encounters, in the beginning of July, and retired behind the Dyle. The Prussians, meanwhile, had lain inactive on the Rhine during the whole campaign, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of the British and Dutch, now peremptorily refused to co-operate with their allies; and in consequence, Clairfait and the Duke of York, in Maritime Flanders, found themselves utterly unable to make head against Pichegru. Tournay was evacuated; Nieuport capitulated; and at length (July 10) the victorious armies of Pichegru and Jourdan met at Brussels.

147. But the Austrian cabinet, also, was no more able than the Prussian to bear the weight of a double contest on the Rhine and the Vistula, and was already desirous of an honourable extrication from the war. The Allied forces retired by diverging lines—the British and Hanoverians intent only on covering Antwerp and Holland, the Imperialists on approaching their magazines at Cologne and Coblenz; thus affording every opportunity of attack to an enterprising enemy. But in pursuance of a secret convention with Cobourg, the Austrians were allowed to retreat unmolested; while Landrecies, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, were recaptured by the French, after slight resistance, before the end of August.

148. The rear of the Republicans being thus secured by the recapture of the frontier fortresses, they resumed the offensive at the end of August. The Duke of York, whose forces were very inferior in number to those opposed to them, retired behind the Meuse; and after a number of partial actions during September, a general battle was fought at Ramondé (Oct. 2) between Jour-

day and Clairault, who had superseded Cobourg in the chief command. The result was adverse to the Austrians, whose position was forced by the enthusiasm of the French grenadiers, headed by Bernadotte, and they retreated with the loss of 3000 men. This battle decided the fate of Flanders, which the Imperials abandoned, withdrawing their whole force beyond the Rhine. Bonn and Cologne were occupied by the French; and the strong fortress of Maestricht, with 350 pieces of cannon, was forced to capitulate (Nov. 4.) The success of Pichegru on the side of Holland was not less decisive. Bois-le-Duc was taken in a fortnight, (Oct. 10,) after a resistance disgraceful to the Dutch arms; and the Duke of York, after a fruitless attempt to maintain the line of the Waal, was forced to fall back behind that river. The French immediately besieged and took Venloo; and the capture of Nimeguen (Nov. 4) completed the dismay of the Dutch, who unjustly reproached the British with having failed to save this important place from an army double their numbers. The Duke of York soon after set out for England, leaving the command to General Walmoden.

149. But it was now evident that the coalition was rapidly approaching its dissolution. Prussia had thrown off the mask, and opened negotiations with France at Bale; and in the Diet of the German Empire (Dec. 5) 57 votes were given for peace, and 36 for the mediation of Prussia. The Dutch States-General, alarmed by the spread of Jacobinism among their subjects, and considering themselves abandoned by the further retreat of Walmoden to Deventer, made urgent proposals of peace; but they were rejected by the French government, and orders were sent to Pichegru to invade the country. As the unusual severity of the frost rendered the canals passable. The French accordingly (Jan. 8, 1795) crossed the Waal in force; and the Stadtholder, perceiving all further resistance hopeless, embarked for England. Revolutionary movements in all the great towns immediately ensued. Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, and Haarlem, welcomed the invaders as deliverers; and, to complete the wonders of the campaign, the Dutch fleet, frozen up at the Texel, was captured by a body of French

cavalry, which crossed the Rhine, and entered the Netherlands. The discipline and moderation of the French soldiers secured this side of success was admitted. But forced requisitions were made on the Dutch government for an enormous amount, and the famous Bank of Amsterdam with difficulty withstood the shock of this first taste of military domination.

150. Meanwhile, little advantage had been gained by either party on the Upper Rhine; but in the south, the Republican armies, after their forces were released by the fall of Lyons and Toulon, attained a decisive superiority. During April and May the passes of Mont Cenis and the Little St Bernard were carried by the French under Dumas; and Generals Massena and Buonaparte were equally successful in obtaining possession of the defiles on the frontier of Nice. But these advantages were not followed up by the government, and the troops remained inactive during the summer months.

151. The war with Spain was more decisive in its results. The efforts of the cabinet of Madrid were paralysed by the disorder of their finances, and their troops, recently so triumphant, were no longer able to cope with the Republicans under Dugommier, flushed as they were with their success at Toulon. The French, assuming the offensive, attacked the Spanish commander, La Union, (April 30,) in his lines at Cerot; the Spaniards, seized with a panic, fled in confusion to Figueras, abandoning 140 guns, with all their baggage and ammunition: and Collioure was retaken, after a brave defence, by the French. In the Western Pyrenees, Spain was invaded (June 3) through the valley of the Bastan; and during June and July all the Spanish positions were forced in detail. San Sebastian capitulated (Aug. 4) without a shot being fired, and Colomera had difficulty in arresting the advance of the enemy on Pampeluna; while the guillotine was erected at San Sebastian, and the blood of priests and nobles shed without mercy. On the eastern frontier, meanwhile, the fortress of Bellegarde had surrendered (Sept. 12) notwithstanding the efforts of La Union; and Dugommier, entering the Spanish territory, formed the formidable line from Figueras

(Sept. 17) but was himself killed in the moment of victory. A second general action (Nov. 20) terminated in another defeat of the Spaniards, who here lost their general, La Union. Figueras surrendered on 24th November; and Rosas, though strongly garrisoned, was reduced before the end of January 1795. These complicated disasters induced the Spanish government to make overtures for peace; but operations were suspended for a time by the severity of the winter.

152. The contest in la Vendée had, in the mean time, been revived by the barbarities of the Convention, and the infernal system of extermination pursued by Thuriot. The Royalists again rose in arms under Charette, and stormed several of his intrenched camps; while a new and terrible warfare, called the *Chouan War*, was kindled in Brittany by the cruelty with which the Breton peasants were persecuted for sheltering the fugitive Vendéans. Tuisaye, Bourmont, George Cadouhal, and other Breton nobles, were the leaders of these new insurgents, 30,000 of whom, in guerilla bands of 2000 or 3000 each, overspread the country. A communication was opened with Britain; and so formidable did this insurrection soon become, that, before the end of the year, not less than 80,000 troops were employed in its suppression.

XL Campaign of 1795.

153. The conquest of Holland, and the other successes of the French during 1794, led to a dissolution of the confederacy against the Republic early in the following year. On the 22d of January a peace with Prussia was signed at Bale, by which the King acknowledged the Republic, and engaged not to oppose the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine: Holland, already in the hands of the French, was compelled to conclude with them an alliance offensive and defensive;—and the whole weight of the war thus fell on Austria and Britain. A treaty was accordingly concluded between these two powers, (May 4,) by which the Emperor, in consideration of a subsidy of £6,000,000, engaged to maintain 200,000 men in the field during the ensuing

campaign—the British land forces were raised to 150,000, 108 ships of the line put in commission, new taxes imposed and new loans contracted. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was further signed (Feb. 18) between Austria and Russia, and Britain: but the co-operation of the Czarina went no further than sending a squadron to join the North Sea blockading fleet under Admiral Duncan.

154. During the winter, the French had succeeded in equipping 13 ships of the line in Toulon, which sailed early in March with the intention of recovering Corsica. They were engaged, however, (March 13,) by an equal British force under Lord Hotham, and driven back with the loss of two ships captured: the land forces were disembarked, and the expedition given up. On the Piedmontese frontier, also, the Sardinian troops, reinforced by 15,000 Austrians, obtained some partial advantages during May and June against the French, whose troops were almost starving: but powerful reinforcements enabled the Republicans to hold their ground. The peace with Spain, however,—by which (July 20) the French Republic was recognised, and the Spanish half of St Domingo ceded,—enabled the government to detach the whole Pyrenean army to the support of General Scherer, who had succeeded Kellerman in the command of the army of Italy. On the 23d of November, the French attacked the Austrians in their position at Loano, and, after a conflict of two days, the enemy's centre was forced by Massena and Augereau, and the Imperialists fled with the loss of 7000 men, 80 guns, and all their stores. But the season was too far advanced to prosecute this success, and the victors took up winter quarters on the ground they had occupied.

155. The unconquerable Charette had maintained the contest in la Vendée, with a few thousand men, throughout the winter; but the fall of Robespierre had disposed the government to entertain more moderate views, and a pacification (which comprehended Stofflet and the Chouans) was at length concluded (April 1795) on terms highly advantageous and honourable to the insurgents. But the calm was not of long continuance,

The emigrants had long been soliciting the British government to assist them in effecting a landing on the western coast; and the undertaking was facilitated by the defeat of the Fleet, which, after a partial action, had been driven into l'Orient by Lord Bridport, with the loss of three ships captured. On the 27th of June, accordingly, 10,000 men under Puisaye and d'Hervilly were landed in Quiberon Bay, with 80 guns, and stores and military clothing to an immense amount, intended to equip all the Royalists of western France. The Chouans flocked to join them; but their desultory mode of fighting was found unsuited for co-operation with regular troops; and after some indecisive actions, the Chouans returned to their own districts, while the emigrants were blockaded by Hoche in Fort Penhièvre and the peninsula of Quiberon. Chanette and the Vendéans, in consequence of treacherous or misunderstood orders from the Royalist Committee at Paris, remaining inactive. On the arrival (July 15) of a strong reinforcement under the Comte de Sombreuil, Puisaye attempted to force the Republican intrenchments—but he was repulsed with a loss into his own lines; and on the 20th, Hoche took advantage of a dark and windy night to attack the fort, and succeeded in carrying it by escalade. A horrible carnage ensued. The Royalists were driven into the sea, while the wind prevented the British squadron from standing close in to their relief: numbers were drowned, or fell under the fire of the enemy—Sombreuil, with the remainder, capitulated on promise of safety, to General Humbert. But Tallien, who had been sent down as government commissioner, prevailed on the Convention to disregard this compact; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the brave Hoche, the prisoners, to the number of 800, men of the best blood of France, were tried by a military commission as rebels, and doomed to die. They perished with heroic fortitude; and the meadow, near Auray, where they met their fate, is still venerated by the inhabitants under the name of "the field of martyrs." This dreadful blow ruined the Royalist cause in the west, the efforts in favour of which amounted thereto; and only to an inconsiderable guerilla warfare.

148. The armies on the Rhine had remained almost motionless throughout the early part of the campaign; the surrender of Luxembourg, June 23, which had long been blockaded by the Republicans, being the only event of importance. This inaction arose partly from the extreme dissipation of the French troops, of which the over-caution of the Austrian generals prevented their taking advantage, and partly from secret negotiations, by which it was hoped that Pichegru might be induced to follow the example of Dumouriez, and embrace the cause of the Bourbons. These overtures, however, proved fruitless. Jourdan's army crossed the Rhine (Sept. 6) in the direction of Dusseldorf; and Pichegru, passing the river near Bonn, compelled that important city to capitulate (Sept. 26.) Jourdan then invested Mayence on the right bank; but Clairfaut, who had received a reinforcement of 15,000 Hanoverians, succeeded in turning the French left, and in compelling Jourdan to raise the siege in the utmost confusion, though with no great loss of men. Clairfaut now assailed the lines before Mayence; and these, after several days, with all their stores and artillery, were carried (Oct. 23) by the well-directed attacks of the Austrian general. Pichegru was at the same time compelled to fall back to the Moselle; and Mannheim, left to its own resources, was recaptured by the Austrians (Nov. 25) with its garrison of 6000 men. The French arms were thus everywhere worsted: but the Imperialists were equally exhausted with their opponents, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed on, (Dec. 16,) both armies going into winter quarters on the left bank of the Rhine.

157. The capture of the Cape of Good Hope (Sept. 16) by the British under Sir James Craig, was the only other important event of this year—the French marine being too completely broken by their defeats in the Mediterranean, and at Port-au-Prince to attempt anything of consequence. Thus the results of the campaign had, on the whole, been highly favourable to the Allies: the Republicans had been checked in the career of conquest, and driven with shame behind the Rhine; by the able movements of Clairfaut and Karmser; and by the lassitude and financial embarrassments

following in the train of the previous unparalleled revolutionary proceedings, seemed to indicate the approach of a successful termination of the war.

XII. *Establishment of the Directory.*

188. The leaders who had overthrown Robespierre were little better than himself: it was the effort of one set of assassins to save their own lives from the vengeance of another faction. But the revolution of public feeling was not the less decisive. A new party now arose, formed of the moderates of all parties and the remnant of the Royalists, who were styled *Thermidorians*, from the day on which the tyrants fell, and who soon placed themselves in determined opposition to the Jacobin Club and the remnant of the formidable committees.

189. The first trial of strength took place (July 30) on the motion of Barère to continue Fouquier Tinville as public accuser, to which Fréron boldly replied, "I propose that we purge the earth of that monster, and send him to lick up in hell the blood which he has shed!" He was accordingly tried and condemned, dying with the saturnine insensibility which characterised him. The law of suspected persons was repealed, the Revolutionary Tribunal remodelled, and the captives gradually released. Here long the Thermidorians derived powerful support from a body called the *Jeunesse Dorée*, composed of youths of respectable birth, who were pledged to hostility to the Reign of Terror by the loss of parents or relations during its continuance. Their contests with the democrats were incessant, and a threat of Billaud Varennes, who hinted at the revival of past atrocities, occasioned the closing of the Jacobin Club. That ancient den of blood was assailed by the Jeunesse Dorée, supported by the national guards: the members were dispersed, and an attempt at reunion (Sept. 8) was punished by a more signal discomfiture. The reaction towards humanity was still further evinced by the condemnation of Carrier, the infamous agent of the *noyades* and other barbarities at Nantes, and by the repeal of the penal decree against

priests and nobles. The popular feeling was now so strong in favour of the Girondists, whose organ, *Le Recueil du Peuple*, supplanted the *Montagnard*, and the orchestras of the theatres. The marriages and other engagements were resumed; and the reappearance of Lanjuinais, Isnard, and other Girondists who had been proscribed by flight, gave fresh strength to the Thermidorians.

160. Tallien and his friends at length ventured on the arrestment of the remaining Jacobin leaders—Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier; but this bold step increased the fears of the democrats, already irritated by the scarcity of provisions and the depreciation of assignats. A revolt was kindled in the faubourgs, (April 1, 1795;) and a formidable band of pikemen, drunken women, and all the ruffianly elements of the early revolutionary mobs, broke into the hall of the Convention; but the insurgents were dispersed by Picquet and the Jeunesse Dorée; and the victory of the Thermidorians was used with a humanity to which France had been long a stranger. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barère were transported to Cayenne, and the remainder of the Jacobin leaders confined in the castle of Ham.

161. But the remnants of that sanguinary faction were not subdued; and they skillfully availed themselves of the means to which Robespierre had reduced the armed and ferocious masses of the faubourgs, to excite one more desperate effort for the recovery of their lost ascendancy. The conspiracy, which had been for some time in agitation, exploded on the 20th May, (1st of Prairial;)—30,000 pikemen, vociferating for "Bread, the Jacobins, and the constitution of 1793," surrounded the Assembly—and the national guard mustered tardily and ineffectually to the rescue. The chair was occupied by Boissy d'Anglas, whose conduct in this extreme peril was worthy of Rome in its best days. His friend Feraud was murdered by the savage mob before his eyes; but he maintained his post throughout the day, and was only at last forced from it by his friends. The insurgents believed their victory complete, and were proceeding forthwith to orga-

mise a new government; but the Jeunesse Dorée and the troops of the Sections at length arrived in force, and, after a bloody strife, the pikemen were routed and expelled from the hall. On the following day, however, they returned in still greater numbers; cannon were planted on both sides; but the multitude were at length appeased, and a pacification effected. Taught by these narrow escapes, the Convention resolved on vigorous measures. Six of the Jacobin remnant suffered death; and the faubourgs, menaced by an overwhelming force of national guards and regular troops, (May 24,) were reduced to unconditional submission. Their cannon and the formidable pikes were taken from them, and the revolutionary committees suppressed: the national guards themselves were newly organised, and the workmen and indigent citizens excluded; and on 17th June the Revolutionary Tribunal itself was quietly suppressed by a simple decree. And thus ended the reign of the multitude, six years after its establishment at the storm of the Bastille. The populace, now disarmed, took no share in the further changes of government, which were brought about by the middle classes and the army.

162. The gradual relaxation of the rigours of the Reign of Terror forms an interesting epoch in this history. The assignats, indeed, presented an inextricable difficulty: they were originally intended to be withdrawn from circulation as funds were realised by the sale of the national lands; but as no purchasers could be found, the evil increased, till a national bankruptcy (as will appear in the sequel) was the result. These securities fell to a hundred and fiftieth part of their nominal value; and the abolition at the same time of the maximum, and the forced requisitions of food, reduced the inhabitants of cities to almost inconceivable distress. The Parisians experienced for months the horrors of a besieged town: for several weeks each citizen received only two ounces of coarse black bread daily, by virtue of a government ticket; and it was the despair thence arising which produced the great revolts by which the Thermidorians were so nearly overthrown, and the Reign of Terror restored.

163. In the general abandonment of democratic principles on the

part of the Jacobins, the reaction, as is usual, went into the opposite extreme. Many of the Jeunesse Dorée openly became Royalists; and in the southern provinces terrible measures of retaliation were directed against the Terrorists, who were everywhere slaughtered by the relatives of those whom they had murdered. The death (June 9) of the infant King Louis XVII., whom the 9th Thermidor came too late to save from the effects of previous ill-treatment, powerfully awakened the public sympathy; and the surviving child of Louis XVI. (afterwards Duchess of Angoulême) was liberated shortly after. Meanwhile the Convention was occupied in framing the new constitution, (the third within a few years,) which differed widely from its predecessors. The ruinous error of uniting all the legislative powers in one body had now been fully demonstrated; and the Assembly was divided into two councils—the Council of Five Hundred, which alone originated laws, and the Council of Ancients, composed of men of forty years of age and upwards, which had the power of passing or rejecting them. The privilege of electing members was at the same time transferred from the body of the people to the colleges of delegates; and the executive power was vested in five Directors, nominated by the Five Hundred, and approved by the Ancients, one of whom by rotation was to retire every year.

164. This new constitution excited the most violent ferment throughout France, in which Paris as usual took the lead, and which was brought to its height by a decree that two-thirds of the present Convention should remain in the new legislature. The Royalist agents, joined by many of the Thermidorians, who were disappointed in their expectations of power, fomented the popular discontent, and a fresh revolt was openly talked of. The Section Lepelletier, the richest and most powerful in Paris, became the focus of the Royalist effervescence; and a provisional government, called the Central Committee, was established by its leaders. The Convention, however, lost none of its energy. Though both the Jacobins and Royalists were opposed to them, the army still remained; and 5000 regular troops were soon assembled near Paris.

165. The collision commenced on 2d October (11th Vendémiaire),

When the electors of Paris having assembled at the Theatre Francaise under the protection of the national guards, General Menou was ordered by the Convention to disperse them. But Menou lacked the decision requisite for civil contests: he entered into a parley, and withdrew without effecting anything; giving by his retreat fresh courage to the insurgents, who resolved to attack on the following day. But during the night Menou had been superseded in the command by Barras, who chose as his lieutenant a young artillery officer, named NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Menton. By his advice, the artillery at the camp of Sablons, amounting to fifty guns, was instantly brought in, and placed so as to command all the avenues to the Tuileries, against which the columns of national guards, 30,000 strong, advanced from all quarters. The defenders did not number more than 6000; but their powerful artillery gave them a decisive advantage over their opponents, who were without cannon, and whose dense ranks were enfiladed at every point by the murderous grape-shot of the regulars. By nine in the morning of the 4th, the victory of the troops was everywhere complete; and thus ended the last popular insurrection, the promoters of which were not the rabble, who had so long stained Paris with blood, but the flower of its citizens.

166. The Convention, swayed by the influence of the Girondists, used its triumph with moderation and magnanimity. Few executions followed; and the voice of Buonaparte was constantly heard on the side of clemency. The elections of the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred were equitably conducted. The Assembly, however, took the precaution, in order to guard against a return to royalty, to name for Directors five persons who had voted for the King's death—Lareveillere-Lepaux, Letourneur, Rewbell, Barras, and Carnot. Their last acts were the publication of a general amnesty, and the change of the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde. And thus the last days of an Assembly, stained with so much blood, were glided by an act of clemency, of which, as Thibaudeau justly said, the annals of Kings furnished few examples.

PART III.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE SEIZURE
OF POWER BY BONAPARTE.—1795-99.

Campaign of 1796 in Germany.

167. WHEN the Directory were called to the helm, on the suppression of the revolt of the Sections, they found the affairs of the Republic, both abroad and at home, in a very critical situation. The finances were in such inextricable confusion, that 10,000 francs in paper was equivalent to scarce 20 francs in specie; and the taxes, according to the estimate of the minister Ramel, were 1,500,000,000 francs (400,000,000) in arrear. The troops, destitute of every thing, had been disheartened by the late disasters on the Rhine, and the soldiers were deserting in great numbers; and the civil war in la Vendée was still unextinguished. On the other hand, the peace with Spain had enabled them to reinforce their armies both in la Vendée and on the Italian frontier. Prussia had retired from the struggle, and the Low Countries were subdued. Britain, baffled on the Continent, was not likely to take any effective part by land; and it was plain, therefore, that the whole weight of the contest must fall on the unaided strength of Austria.

168. A triple alliance had indeed been concluded (Sept. 17, 1795) between Austria, Russia, and Britain: but Russia was too far distant to afford material assistance; and Britain, at the end of 1795 and beginning of 1796, was internally little less distracted than France. Party spirit had become so violent, that many of the popular leaders had come to wish, and hesitated not to betray their wish, for the success of the enemy. The cry for parliamentary reform was exasperated by the high price of provisions, which, though naturally resulting from the increased consump-

tion required by the war, was attributed by the demagogues solely to the ministry; and the King himself was attacked by the populace when proceeding to open parliament (Oct. 29, 1793). Addresses for the continuance of the war were nevertheless carried by large majorities in both houses, in spite of the vehement opposition of Mr. Fox and the Whigs. But still more violent debates arose both in the parliament and the country on the bills for preventing sedition, &c., popularly designated as the Pitt and Grenville Acts; which prohibited all public meetings not held under the sanction of a magistrate, and authorised the instant arrest of all who used seditious language on these occasions. Mr. Fox and his followers inveighed against these measures as equivalent to the establishment of despotism; but they were passed by overwhelming majorities; and were certainly not found, in practice, to produce the mischief which their opponents confidently predicted. As a concession to the other party, an overture for peace was made (March 8, 1796) to the Directory; but the announced determination of France to retain the Low Countries at once closed the attempt at negotiation.

169. The first active operations of this memorable campaign were in la Vendée, where Hoche, one of the ablest and most moderate of the Republican leaders, heading an army of 100,000 men, succeeded in terminating the contest by the capture and execution of the Royalist chiefs, Stofflet and Charette. Meanwhile the cabinet of Vienna prosecuted its labours with activity. Clairfait, the victor of Mayence, was superseded in the chief command on the Rhine by the Archduke Charles—a step which, however ill-deserved by Clairfait, was soon justified by the great abilities of the young prince, “whose soul” (in the words of his great antagonist Napoleon) “belonged to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold.” The forces on the Rhine were nearly equal on both sides, but the Imperialists were greatly superior in cavalry. On the Lower Rhine, the Archduke had 71,000 infantry and 21,000 cavalry, to oppose the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan, which amounted to 63,000 foot and 11,000 horse; while Moreau on the Upper Rhine, with 71,000 infantry, and

6,500 cavalry, confronted Wurmser, who was at the head of 62,000 foot and 22,000 horse. But of this latter force, 30,000 men and the general were despatched, early in the campaign, to reinforce the army of Italy.

170. The plans of the Aulic Council were, on the Upper Rhine, to attack Landau and Strasburg, while the Archduke passed the Moselle and reconquered Flanders. But they kept their armies unaccountably inactive till the end of May; though a victory at that time on the Sarre or Moselle would probably have called off Buonaparte from Italy, by compelling the French army on the Rhine to break up into garrisons for the frontier fortresses. At length (May 30) the French general, Kleber, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and gained some advantages over the corps opposed to him: but the Archduke bringing down on him his main forces from Mayence, drove him back with loss across the river. Moreau in the mean time, after misleading the Austrians by a feigned attack on Mannheim, succeeded, on the night of 23d June, in passing the Rhine at Strasburg with his whole army, and surprising Kehl—an exploit which has been highly celebrated, but the hazard of which was much lessened by the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces. The Archduke (now left sole in command by the departure of Wurmser for Italy) instantly hastened to repel this new danger; and a series of bloody but indecisive encounters ensued on the banks of the Murg and the skirts of the Black Forest, till the Archduke at last, fearing the interruption of his communications, drew off, in the middle of July, towards Stuttgart and the Neckar; while the French detachments spread through the Black Forest to the Swiss frontier. At the same time, on the Lower Rhine, General Martensleben had been forced back to the Maine by the now superior forces of Jourdan: and the French general, following up his advantage, had occupied Frankfurt.

171. Germany was thus invaded at two separate points, by armies greatly superior in numbers to those opposed to them—that under the Archduke having left 30,000 men in garrison on the Rhine. But it was now that the consummate generalship of the

prince showed itself. Retiring slowly, and disputing every inch of ground without risking a pitched battle, he fell back from the Neckar to the Danube, breaking all the bridges; while Wartensleben, pursued by Jourdan, retreated in a similar manner to the Naab. But on 16th August, the Archduke, leaving Latour with 35,000 men to make head against Moreau, suddenly marched northwards with 25,000, and joining Wartensleben, fell with united and superior forces on Jourdan. The French vanguard, under Bernadotte, was crushed at Teining on the 22d; and two days later the main body was defeated at Amberg, and saved from destruction only by the firmness of Ney and the rearguard. The battle of Wurtzburg (Sept. 2) ended in a still more decisive overthrow of the Republicans, who fled rather than retreated across the Lahn, abandoning great part of their artillery. At Aschaffenburg, being reinforced by Marceau with the corps which had blockaded Mayence, Jourdan again (Sept. 16) awaited the attack of the Archduke, only again to be routed at all points; and another engagement (19th) at Altenkirchen, where the gallant Marceau was mortally wounded, completed the discomfiture of his army. The French recrossed the Rhine in the most complete state of disorganisation, having lost 20,000 men in their retreat from the frontiers of Bohemia.

172. While the Austrian prince was pursuing this victorious career on the Main, Latour was hard pressed on the Danube by Moreau, whose army nearly doubled in number the force opposed to him. After defeating the Austrians, however, at Friedberg; (Aug. 26,) Moreau continued for three weeks occupied in inconsiderable movements in Bavaria; till the tidings of an attack upon Kehl, (Sept. 13,) after the battle of Wurtzburg, roused him to a sense of his critical position. On the 25th of that month, he commenced his retreat of 200 miles, from the Isar to the Rhine, with the hostile columns gathering round him from all quarters; but his army of 70,000 men was yet unbroken, and full of confidence in its commander. Turning on Latour before his communication with the other corps was complete, he inflicted on him a severe defeat (Oct. 2) at Biberach; and so able were his measures

collected, that he passed the dangerous defiles of the Black Forest without confusion or loss, and debouched into the valley of the Rhine before the Archduke arrived to intercept him. But here his good fortune ended,—in two successive battles at Emmendingen (Oct. 19) and Hohenlied, (Oct. 20,) the victory remained with the Austrians; and Moreau sought shelter for his shattered battalions on the left bank of the Rhine.

The German being thus delivered from invaders, the Archduke proposed to the Aulic Council to detach a powerful reinforcement into Italy, in order to co-operate with Alvinci and liberate Wurms; but this well-judged advice was rejected, and positive orders given for the attack of Huningen and Kehl, which the French still held on the right bank of the Rhine. Kehl was accordingly invested, (Oct. 9 :) but the siege, from the advanced season of the year, and the presence of the French army on the opposite bank, presented obstacles of no ordinary kind; and the obstinacy and length of the defence did honour to Desaix and Gyr. At length, after the outer works had been stormed and the bulwarks riddled by 100,000 cannon-shot and 25,000 bombs, it capitulated on 9th January 1797—and Huningen shared the same fate on 1st February. Thus ended the German campaign of 1796, the military successes of which, on the part of the Austrians, were mainly owing to the application, by the Archduke, of those strategic principles which simultaneously conduced to the Italian triumphs of Buonaparte. But the moral effects which resulted from the French irruption into Germany were not less important. The cruel exactions and arbitrary conduct of the Republicans effectually opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of democratic ambition—their retreating armies were harassed, and the stragglers cut off by the peasantry; and hence may be dated the growth of that patriotic spirit which ultimately rescued Germany from foreign subjugation.

174. The same year saw a still closer bond formed between Prussia and France, by the conclusion of a convention at Berlin, (Aug. 5,) ostensibly for the other purpose than securing the neutrality of Northern Germany. But there was also a secret

understanding, by which Prussia recognised the French boundary of the Rhine, and the principle of indemnifying the princes thus dispossessed by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical states of the Empire—an atrocious system, the immediate result of which was to put the cabinet of Berlin at the mercy of France as to German affairs, and which soon after brought about the fall of the Germanic constitution and empire.

175. While these important transactions were in progress on the Continent, the British flag continued to ride triumphant on every part of the ocean; while the French fleets, blockaded in their ports, could neither protect their commerce, nor acquire maritime experience. During the present year, Grenada, St Lucia, Essequibo, and Demerara in the West Indies, and the Batavian settlements of Ceylon, Malacca, and Oochin in the East, were reduced by the British; and a powerful Dutch armament, destined to retake the Cape, was captured in Saldanha Bay by Admiral Elphinstone. St Domingo still continued distracted by the servile war which had been kindled by the extravagant visions of the French philanthropists; and neither were the British able to acquire, nor the French to retain, any control over its savage and infuriated population. But notwithstanding her naval successes, the situation of Britain was sufficiently discouraging. The easily excited jealousy of Spain against the British naval power had been artfully fanned by the Directory, till the court of Madrid was induced (Aug. 19) to conclude the treaty of St Ildefonso, for an offensive and defensive alliance with France; and this fatal compact, whence arose all the subsequent disasters of Spain, was followed up (Oct. 2) by a formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Thus Britain saw the whole European coast, from the Texel to Gibraltar, arrayed against her; and Mr Pitt, impressed with these dangers, again made overtures for a general peace. Lord Malmesbury, the British envoy, reached Paris on 22d October, and the negotiations continued for two months; but as the British government, in return for the offered recognition of the French Republic, and restoration of the French and Dutch colonies, insisted on the restoration of

Holland, the Low Countries, and Lombardy, to their former owners; they were at length actually broken off, and Lord Maitland ordered to leave Paris.

176. The Directory were probably induced to act in this manner by their hopes of the success of a descent from the north of Ireland; in truth, Great Britain was swept rather by the winds of France than her own exertions. This was the invasion of Ireland, where a vast republican conspiracy, pervading the whole country, had for some time been organised, with the view of overthrowing the government, and breaking off the British connection. Hoche, with 25,000 of his best troops, was appointed for the service; and the expedition (15 ships of the line and 18 frigates and corvettes, besides transports) sailed on the 15th December. But the fleet was scattered by a storm: Hoche himself, who was on board a frigate, was separated from the rest, and with difficulty regained the French coast; and though Admiral Bouvet reached Bantry Bay with part of his squadron, he was unable to effect a landing, and arrived again at Brest on 31st December.

177. The close of this year was marked by the death of the Empress Catherine of Russia, after a reign of 36 years, in which her masculine abilities and great qualities as a sovereign contrast forcibly with her vices as a woman. Her latest project was the formation of a European confederacy against France, and she had given orders for a levy of 150,000 men for the German campaign—a design which, if then carried into effect, might have hastened by nearly twenty years the close of the war, but which was speedily abandoned by her successor, the Emperor Paul. The end of the same year also witnessed the voluntary resignation of power by the most restless character whom modern history has to commemorate—the illustrious Washington, who, having raised his country by his exertions to the rank of an independent state, closed his career by relinquishing the authority which a grateful people had bestowed.

RISE OF BUONAPARTE.

II. *Italian Campaign of 1796-7.*

175. NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, Aug. 15, 1769, in the same year with the Duke of Wellington. "Providence," said Louis XVIII., "owed us that counterpoise." His family, though in reduced circumstances, was noble; but his father died at the age of thirty-eight of a cancer in the stomach, the same complaint which afterwards proved fatal to Napoleon himself; and his early education devolved on his mother—a woman of great beauty and remarkable powers of mind. At an early age he was sent to the military school of Brienne, where he was the fellow-pupil of Fieschi; but his proficiency, though respectable, was not remarkable, except in his favourite study of mathematics. The quickness of his temper, though partially subdued, could never be extinguished, and in the private notes transmitted to government by the masters, he was characterised as "domineering, imperious, and headstrong." When fourteen, he was sent to complete his studies at the Ecole Militaire of Paris, and in 1785 received a commission as lieutenant of artillery. At this period he was not popular among his companions, who considered him haughty and inaccessible; but high expectations were even then formed of him by the few whose acquaintance he thought proper to cultivate. His powers of reasoning were already remarkable; his knowledge and general information not less so, considering his age and opportunities; and there can be little doubt that, had he not become the first conqueror, he would have been one of the greatest writers, as he was certainly one of the profoundest thinkers, of modern times.

179. On the outbreak of the Revolution he adhered, like most of the young subalterns, to the popular party; but with the Reign of Terror his sentiments changed, and he then manifested that profound hatred of Jacobinism, which he evinced and avowed throughout his after-life. His first service was in his own country; but he shortly afterwards received the direction of the artillery at the siege of Toulon, the successful result of which

was mainly due to his address and exertions. Here he first encountered Carnot, afterwards Marshal Duke of Abrantes, and Duroc, one of his few personal friends; and the high reputation which he here acquired secured for him the command of the artillery in the army of Italy in the campaign of 1794. But in July of that year he was released after the fall of Robespierre, with whose brother he had been acquainted; and though speedily released from confinement, he was deprived (Sept.) of his rank as general, and remained in obscurity and almost in want, till brought forward by Barras in the manner detailed in page 96, to save the Directory and the Convention on the 12th Vendémiaire. A scarcely less important event, in reference to his ultimate fortune, was the accidental acquaintance which he formed at this juncture with Madame Beauharnais, (afterwards the Empress Josephine), whose first husband had fallen by the guillotine in the Reign of Terror. The grace and beauty of this celebrated lady excited an impression on the young general, which time and conversation contributed to strengthen, as she was known to exercise considerable influence over Barras. Buonaparte married her March 9, 1796, and with her received, through the joint interest of Barras and Carnot, the command of the Italian army, for the headquarters of which he set out twelve days afterwards.

The force of which he now assumed the command did not amount to more than 42,000 men, in the most miserable state of equipment—the navy was almost dismantled, and the artillery did not exceed 60 pieces. They had neither tents, provisions, nor pay, and had for some time been on half rations. The regiments and garrisons in the rear, however, in some degree supplied these deficiencies; the soldiers themselves were mostly young, hardy, and untrained to privation; and their chiefs, Massena, Augereau, Sarrasin, and Berthier, already began to give tokens of their future greatness. Opposed to these, the Allies had 60,000 men and 200 guns, under Beaulieu and Colli; while 24,000 Sardinians confronted Buonaparte's army of nearly equal strength, and the army of Saxony—the French mostly

occupying the crests of the mountains, and their opponents the valleys leading to the Italian plains.

181. The plan of Buonaparte was to separate the Austrians from the Sardinians under Colli, by penetrating into Piedmont through the Col di Cadibone; but as this manœuvre necessitated the accumulation of the bulk of his troops on the extreme right, Beaulieu moved towards Genoa, in order to counteract it, and the armies came into contact at Montenotte. Had the attack of the Austrians been successful, it would have cut in two the French line of march; but the determined valour of Colonel Rampon and the advance, gave Buonaparte time to cross the ridge by night, and get in the rear of the enemy, who were enveloped and completely routed, (April 12.) Such was Buonaparte's first victory; and this success was followed up by Augereau, who routed the Sardinians at Millesimo, and captured General Provero with 1800 men; while Buonaparte himself, with Massena and La Harpe, carried the position of Dego by storm from the Austrians, and maintained it in spite of the gallant efforts of Wlassowich to regain it. The fertile plains of Piedmont now lay open to the victors, who turned all their efforts to crush the remaining strength of the Sardinian army: the intrenched camp of Ceva was turned; and Colli, defeated by Serrurier in a severe action at Mondovi, (April 21,) was compelled to abandon Cherasco to the French. The danger of the capital now struck the court of Turin with consternation; and though the French had no siege artillery, and were still inferior, particularly in cavalry, to the Allies, a negotiation was opened with Buonaparte, and the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Alessandria, given up as the price of an armistice. The definitive treaty was signed on 15th May, by which the King of Sardinia withdrew from the coalition, and ceded Savoy, Nice, and Western Piedmont to the French Republic, whose troops were allowed a free passage through his remaining dominions.

182. Beaulieu had retired behind the Po in order to cover the Milanese territory; and Buonaparte, whose rear was now secured by the Sardinian treaty, lost no time in pursuing him.

While the position of the enemy was directed to Valenza, he succeeded (April 22) in passing the Po at Piacenza, below its junction with the Tino; thus at once turning the river defences of the country. The Austrian general forthwith advanced from Pavia with his army, now considerably reinforced, to repair this mischance; but his divisions were routed in detail at Fombio and Fizzignone, and compelled to concentrate themselves behind the Adda for the defence of Milan. The Duke of Parma was now compelled to purchase terms from the French by the payment of 2,000,000 francs, and the surrender of twenty of his most valuable paintings—an unjustifiable species of speculation now first introduced into warfare, but which was persevered in through all the subsequent conquests of the French. In the mean time Buonaparte pushed rapidly onwards for Milan. The passage of the Adda, at the wooden bridge of Lodi, was defended by 12,000 foot, and 4000 horse, the elite of the Austrian army; but the French general, heading his grenadiers in person, forced the perilous defile (May 10) in the face of a tremendous fire of grape-shot, and the enemy retreated with the loss of 2000 men and 20 guns. The heroism displayed by their young commander in this action had an extraordinary effect on the soldiery, who bestowed on him the familiar surname, ever afterwards remembered, of the Little Corporal. Beaulieu now retired behind the Mincio, and Buonaparte entered Milan (May 15) with all the pomp of a victor, and amid the acclamations of the populace, who enthroned him as their regenerator from the long thralldom of Austrian oppression; and the destined restorer of republican freedom; while national guards were organised, and revolutionary authorities established throughout Lombardy.

183. But the hopes of the Milanese were soon cruelly dispelled by the heavy contributions levied by the victors, whose system of "making war support war" now began to develop itself. The enormous sum of 20,000,000 of francs (£300,000) was exacted from Milan alone; the Duke of Modena was compelled to pay 10,000,000, and to surrender his choicest paintings; the soldiers lived at his quarters; and *liberated Italy* was treated more severely

than a conquered state. The peasants at length rose in arms, but the insurrection was crushed with merciless severity, and Pavia, which had fallen into their hands, was given up to plunder, while the chief citizens were shot in cold blood by order of Napoleon. Having thus stifled the spirit of disaffection in his rear, he again moved in pursuit of Beaulieu, who, after strongly garrisoning Mantua, lay in position along the Mincio. The neutral territory of Venice was violated by each of the belligerents in the course of these operations, but the reclamations of the senate were equally disregarded by both; and Buonaparte, after dislodging Beaulieu from the Mincio by a successful action at Valleggio on 30th May, and establishing himself on the Adige, not only occupied Verona and Porto-Legnago, belonging to Venice, but so intimidated the Venetian commissioners, that they agreed to furnish gratuitously all the supplies which he required. Beaulieu retired with his beaten army to Roveredo, to defend the passes of the Tyrol; the King of Naples, alarmed at the retreat of the Austrians, obtained an armistice from the French, and withdrew his troops from the Imperial camp; and Buonaparte availed himself of the leisure thus obtained to crush the remaining hostility of Northern Italy. The Genoese Republic submitted at the first summons, renounced the Austrian alliance, and received French troops into its fortresses. The Pope was more severely dealt with, purchasing a respite only by the surrender of his frontier towns and most precious treasures of art, and a payment of 20,000,000 francs. But the seizure of Leghorn, by Murat, though chiefly directed against the British merchandise in the port, was an outrage the more flagrant, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in whose territories it was committed, was one of the earliest allies of the French Republic, and was even then giving a splendid reception to Buonaparte at Florence.

184. During these transactions, Mantua, the only fortress retained by the Austrians in Lombardy, had been closely besieged by Serrurier, and the Aulic Council of Vienna resolved upon the most energetic measures for its relief. Marshal Wurmser, as already mentioned, was summoned with 30,000 men from the

to assume the chief command. While to oppose a French army raised by the conscription to 60,000 effective men Buonaparte had only half that number of regular troops—15,000 (out of 55,000 which formed the entire army) being engaged before Mantua, and 10,000 in keeping up his communications. The aristocratic party already anticipated the verification of the proverb—that Italy was the tomb of the French; but the tactics of the Imperialists were fettered by their orders, drawn up by the Aulic Council on the model of the Emperor, and their army was split into two great divisions, commanded severally by Wurmser and Quasdanovich, and separated by the lake of Garda. Still the first renewal of the struggle was highly disadvantageous to the French: their outposts were everywhere driven in; and while Milan was threatened by Quasdanovich, the siege of Mantua was raised (Aug. 1) by the advance of Wurmser himself. But the passage of the Mincio at Castiglione was the term of Wurmser's success; by extending his line too widely, in order to effect a junction with Quasdanovich, he laid himself open to the attack of Buonaparte, who forced his centre with great loss (Aug. 3) at Lonato, while Augereau retook Castiglione. A decisive conflict at Medola (Aug. 5) ended in the defeat of the Austrians; and Wurmser again withdrew his shattered battalions to Roveredo, having in seven days lost 20,000 men and 60 guns, with no compensating advantage except the relief of Mantua.

185. For three weeks after this terrible struggle the contest was suspended, while both sides recruited their ranks: the French receiving important accessions, not only from France and Lombardy, but from the arrival of numerous Poles who were deprived of a home by the late partition of their country, and who formed the nucleus of the famous Polish legion. The two armies (each about 60,000) broke up at the same time—Wurmser descending the Brenta, while Buonaparte ascended the Adige, and fell on the detached corps of Davidovich, which had been left to guard Roveredo. After two days' severe fighting (Sept. 4-6) the Austrians were routed both at Roveredo and Galliano,

and the French entered Trent, the capital of the Italian Tyrol. But Wurmser still continued to press on for Verona, with the view of getting into the rear of the enemy; and Buonaparte, leaving Vanbois to deal with Davidovich, hastened back through the terrible gorges of the Val Sugana to encounter the indefatigable veteran. The battle of Bassano (Sept. 8.) at the mouth of the defiles, ended in a disastrous defeat of the Imperialists; but the gallant Wurmser, with 20,000 men, succeeded in forcing his way, after a number of bloody skirmishes, into Mantua, which, before the beginning of October, was again blockaded by the French.

186. But the indomitable perseverance of the cabinet of Vienna was not yet exhausted: fresh drafts from the German armies, and new levies among the brave and loyal Tyrolese, raised their force once more to 60,000 men; the supreme command of whom was given to Alvinzi, a general of high reputation. Though Buonaparte had been reinforced by twelve fresh battalions from la Vendée, his strength was still far from adequate to cope with these masses, and with the formidable corps shut up with Wurmser in Mantua; and his letters to the Directory express his despondency. The first events of the renewed campaign appeared to confirm his anticipations: Vanbois was overwhelmed and driven from the Tyrol, all the country between the Brenta and Adige was rapidly lost; and at Caldiero (Nov. 11) the Republicans were, for the first time during the campaign, defeated in a pitched battle, with the loss of 3000 men. The situation of Buonaparte for a moment appeared desperate; but his genius did not desert him at this crisis; and on the night of the 14th, passing the Adige by a rapid movement, he plunged into the morasses of Arcola, and thus outflanked the impregnable position of Caldiero. The battles of the three next days were among the most terrible of the war. The soldiers on both sides fought with the most heroic gallantry: but the French were animated by the example and personal prowess of their leaders, particularly of Massena, and Buonaparte himself, who with his own hands planted the standard on the disputed bridge of Arcola; while

the efforts of their opponents were paralyzed by the timidity of Alvinzi, and the treachery of some of his subordinates. The Austrians at length retired, baffled rather than defeated, and the remainder of the year was occupied by fruitless negotiations for peace at Vicenza.

187. The garrison of Mantua was by this time reduced to the last extremity by sickness and famine; and, on the reopening of hostilities, a division of 15,000 men under Provera was destined especially to force a way by the plain of Padua, and raise the siege of this important fortress; while Alvinzi, with the main body of 35,000, combated Buonaparte on the Upper Adige. On the 13th January 1797, Joubert was attacked by a vastly superior force on the elevated plateau of Rivoli; and when Buonaparte came up to his support on the following night, he found the position nearly surrounded by the watch-fires of five strong columns, which at daybreak on the 14th assaulted the plateau by different routes. The French left was broken by the onset of the Imperialists; but Massena, (afterwards Duke of Rivoli,) instantly charging with his corps, which had marched all night, restored the combat in that quarter. Still the battle raged in the front and on both flanks, and the Republicans were on the point of being taken in the rear by Lusignan, who had wound round them unperceived, when Buonaparte, by sending a flag of truce to Alvinzi, to announce some pretended propositions from Paris, gained time to alter his formations. The critical period was suffered to pass away, and when the action was resumed, the columns in front were crushed by the plunging fire from the heights, and driven back in inexorable confusion; while the corps of Lusignan, cut off in its turn, laid down its arms. But, not content with this brilliant victory, Buonaparte hastened on the same night to the environs of Mantua, where Provera was on the point of forcing the fortress and releasing Wurmser. The arrival of the general-in-chief, however, changed the aspect of affairs; and Provera, surrounded by superior forces, was forced to surrender, with 6000 men (Jan. 16.) Thus in three days did Buonaparte rout two Austrian armies of much greater force, taken together, than

his own—taking from them 15,000 prisoners, 24 standards, and 60 guns; and inflicting on them, besides, such loss in killed and wounded, as totally disabled them from making any further effort to save Italy. History exhibits few examples of successes so decisive achieved by forces so inconsiderable.

188. While the broken detachments of the Austrians, driven from Trent and the valley of the Adige, were only at length rallied on the Tagliamento and the head of the Drava, the pressure of famine and hopelessness of aid left Wurmser no alternative but capitulation. The terms granted by Buonaparte were honorable both to himself and his adversary; and the aged marshal, coming from Mantua with 18,000 men, surrendered (Feb. 11) to Serrurier. Napoleon had already marched southward to chastise the Pope, who had rashly plunged into hostilities during the strife on the Adige. The feeble forces of the Church vanished at the approach of the French; and Pius VI. with difficulty purchased the peace of Tolentino (Feb. 19) by the cession of Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and a second heavy mulct in money and works of art.

189. With this treaty closed the campaign of 1796-7, glorious to the French, and so memorable in the history of the world. From maintaining a continual contest on their own frontier, the Republicans found themselves transported to the Tyrol and the Tyrrhenian, threatening the Austrian Hereditary States, and the Kingdom of Naples. Much of Buonaparte's success was owing to the character of the troops he commanded. The patriotism of the heroic of French society, and the warlike spirit of the population, had filled the ranks from the middle and even higher classes of the people; and the result was a union of intelligence, skill, and ability among the private soldiers, such as had never before been witnessed in modern warfare. But, much as was owing to the troops, still more was to be ascribed to the general. In this struggle is to be seen the commencement of that new system of tactics which he afterwards brought to such perfection—that of accumulating troops on a central point, piercing the line of the enemy, and compensating

by rapidity of movement for inferiority of numbers. The misfortunes of the Austrians, on the other hand, were mainly owing to their injudicious system of dividing their force into separate bodies, and attacking, at the same time, at points so far distant that the different columns could give each other little aid.

III. *Internal Transactions and Naval Campaigns of Great Britain in 1797.*

190. The aspect of affairs in Britain had never been so clouded during the eighteenth century as at the beginning of the year 1797. The failure of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris had closed every hope of an honourable termination to the war, while of all her original allies, Austria alone remained; the national burdens were continually increasing, and the three per-cent had fallen to fifty-one; while party spirit raged with uncommon violence, and Ireland was in a state of partial insurrection. A still greater disaster resulted from the panic arising from the dread of invasion, and which produced such a run on all the banks, that the Bank of England itself was reduced to payment in sixpences; and an Order in Council appeared (Feb. 26) for the suspension of all cash payments. This measure at first only temporary, was prolonged from time to time by parliamentary enactments, making bank-notes a legal tender; and it was not till 1819, after the conclusion of peace, that the recurrence to metallic currency took place.

191. The Opposition deemed this a favourable opportunity to renew their cherished project of parliamentary reform; and on 26th May Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grey brought forward a plan chiefly remarkable for containing the outlines of that subsequently carried into effect in 1831. It was negatived, however, after violent debates, by a majority of 258 against 93. After a similar strife of parties, the motion for the continuance of the war was carried by a great majority in both houses; and the requisite supplies were voted. The expenses of the war, for the year, amounted to no less than £42,800,000. The land force

amounted to 190,000 men, 61,000 of whom were in Britain, the remainder in the colonies. The ships in commission were 124 of the line, 195 50-gun ships and frigates, and 184 sloops: but this great force, being scattered all over the world, could not readily be concentrated in any considerable strength on one point. The naval forces of France and her allies were now, on the other hand, become very considerable; and Truguet had devised a plan for raising the blockade of the Dutch and French harbours by a Spanish fleet of 27 sail, and thus assembling 60 or 70 ships of the line in the Channel—a far greater force than Great Britain could, in that quarter, oppose to them. Yet this peril, great as it was, was as nothing compared to the famous Mutiny of the Fleet, which unexpectedly broke out at this juncture.

192. Unknown to the government, great discontent had for a long time prevailed in the navy. The exciting causes were principally the low rate of pay, (which had not been raised since the time of Charles II.,) the unequal distribution of prize-money, and undue severity in the maintenance of discipline. These grounds of complaint, with others not less well-founded, gave rise to a general conspiracy, which broke out (April 15) in the Channel fleet under Lord Bridport. All the ships fell under the power of the insurgents; but they maintained perfect order, and memorialised the Admiralty and the Commons on their grievances: their demands being examined by government, and found to be reasonable, were granted; and on the 7th of May the fleet returned to its duty. But scarcely was the spirit of disaffection quelled in this quarter, when it broke out in a more alarming form (May 22) among the squadron at the North, which was soon after (June 6) joined by the force which had been cruising off the Texel under Lord Duncan. The mutineers appointed a seaman named Parker to the command; and, blockading the mouth of the Thames, announced their demands in such a tone of menacing audacity as insured their instant rejection by the government.

193. This second mutiny caused dreadful consternation in London; but the firmness of the King remained unshaken, and he was nobly seconded by the parliament. A bill was passed, prohibit-

ing all communication with the mutineers under pain of death. Sheerness and Tilbury Fort were armed and garrisoned for the defence of the Thames; and the sailors, finding the national feelings strongly arrayed against them, became gradually sensible that their enterprise was desperate. One by one the ships returned to their duty; and on 15th June all had submitted. Parker and several other ringleaders suffered death; but clemency was extended to the multitude: and the ultimate consequences of this formidable mutiny, from the redress given to the real grievances of the seamen, and the improvement thence arising in the condition of both officers and men, were highly beneficial to the service. In the reign of George III., and the administration of Mr Pitt, there is no more glorious event than the effectual and almost bloodless suppression of this dangerous revolt.

194. Notwithstanding all these dissensions, the British navy was never more terrible to its enemies than during this eventful year. On the 14th of February, the Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line and 12 frigates, which had put to sea for the purpose of raising the blockade of the French harbours, was encountered off Cape St Vincent by Sir John Jarvis, who had only 15 ships and 6 frigates. By the old manœuvre of *breaking the line*, 9 of the Spanish ships were cut off from the rest; and the admiral, while attempting to regain them by wearing round the rear of the British line, was boldly assailed by NELSON and COLLINGWOOD,—the former of whom, in the Captain of 74 guns, engaged at once two of the enemy's gigantic vessels, the *Santisima Trinidad* of 138 guns, and the *San Josef* of 112; while the *Salvador del Mundo*, also of 112 guns, struck in a quarter of an hour to Collingwood. Nelson at length carried the *San Josef* by boarding, and received the Spanish admiral's sword on his own quarter-deck. The *Santisima Trinidad*—an enormous four-decker—though her colours were twice struck, escaped in the confusion; but the *San Josef* and the *Salvador*, with two 74-gun ships, remained in the hands of the British; and the Spanish armament, thus routed by little more than half its own force, retired in the deepest dejection to Cadiz, which was shortly after

insulted by a bombardment from the great Nelson. A more important victory than that of Sir John Jervis (created in consequence Earl St. Vincent) was never gained at sea, from the evidence of the spirit of skill and seamanship which it demonstrated in the British navy.

1795. The battle of Camperdown, disconcerted the plans of Truguet for the naval campaign; but later in the season, a second attempt to reach Great Britain was made by a Dutch fleet of 13 sail of the line and 11 frigates, under the command of De Winter, a man of tried courage and experience. The British blockading fleet, under Admiral Duncan, consisted of 16 ships and 3 frigates, and the battle was fought (Oct. 16) off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore of Holland. The manoeuvres of the British admirals were directed to cut off the enemy's retreat to his own shores, and this having been accomplished, the action commenced yard-arm to yard-arm, and continued with the utmost fury for more than three hours. The Dutch sailors fought with the most admirable skill and courage, and proved themselves worthy descendants of Jan Tromp and De Ruyter; but the prowess of the British was irresistible. 12 sail of the line, including the flag-ship, and 66 gun ships, and 2 frigates, struck their colours; but the fire-steam of the shore enabled two of the prizes to escape, and one 74-gun ship was saved. The obstinacy of the conflict was evidenced by the nearly equal numbers of killed and wounded, who amounted to 1500 British, and 1460 Dutch. But no triumph was ever more complete and decisive: and its moral effects were equally important, as it was gained by the same fleet which had so lately been shattered to every class by the mutiny at the Nore.

1796. The only remaining operations of the year were the capture of Trinidad in February by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was repulsed from before Porto Rico; and an abortive attempt at a descent in Pembroke Bay by Admiral French. But the great and memorable event of the year was the death of Mr. Burke, in whom the force of intellect, ardour, of imagination, and richness of genius were combined to an extent unrivalled perhaps in any other age.

country, and to whom it was just permitted to see the commencement of this triumph the way to which had been opened by his own genius and courage.

Campaign of 1797.—Fall of Venice.—Treaty of Campo Formio.

THE death of Catherine had dissolved the projected alliance of Russia, her successor, the Emperor Paul, retaining still disposition to mingle in the wars of Southern Europe. Austria was thus still left single-handed; and the length of time requisite to withdraw troops from the Rhine, to defend the Alpine frontier of the Hereditary States, gave an opportunity for a blow to be struck, by an early effort, at the heart of her power. But the jealousy of the Directory prevented them from adequately reinforcing the army of Buonaparte; and while Hoche received the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, only 20,000 men, under Bernadotte and Delmas, were sent to the army of Italy, which was thus raised to an effective total of 61,000, besides 25,000 employed in securing the rear and communications. Austria, however, to anticipate the arrival of the reinforcements from the Rhine and the Hungarian levies, Buonaparte resolved on hastening an irruption into Austria, while the Archduke had as yet only 20,000 men on the Tagliamento—an enterprise fraught with great risk, from the insecure nature of his relations with Russia, and the insufficient protection which he could afford to his communications on the flank and rear.

On the 10th of March, therefore, all the columns moved forward, and, although the higher passes were still encumbered with deep snow, the plan of Buonaparte was to turn the Austrian right by means of Masséna's division; and this manœuvre having so far succeeded as to compel the Archduke to fall back from the Piave to the Tagliamento, Buonaparte, with the main body passed the river on the 16th by stratagem. A general action ensued, in which the Austrians were repulsed; and thus the prestige of the invader, between the deliverer of Germany and the conqueror of Italy, remained with the latter.

Bernadotte and Serrurier now passed the Isonzo, (March 19,) and occupied Laybach and Trieste. Massena seized the Col-de-Taraxis, (an important pass on the crest of the Alps, commanding the Carinthian and Dalmatian valleys,) and maintained it, amid ice and snow, against the utmost efforts of the Austrians, under the Archduke in person, (March 22.) The corps of Bayalitch, retreating up the Isonzo, was cut off by this movement, and capitulated to the number of nearly 4000 men, with 25 guns; and the French, descending the northern side of the Alps, and crossing the Drave at Villach, advanced to Clagenfurth.

199. Soon after this they were joined by Joubert, who, after important successes in the Tyrol, had been at length compelled to evacuate it by the general rising of the warlike peasantry. On the 31st March, Buonaparte made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate by letter with the Archduke, but without suspending his pursuit of the retreating Imperialists. On the 2d April, the stupendous defiles of Neumarkt, though defended by the Archduke in person, were forced by the invaders, who pushed on to Judenburg; while the Austrian corps were hastily collected from all quarters, to make a final effort before Vienna. But the firmness of the court at length gave way before the imminence of the danger; and on 7th April a suspension of arms was agreed to at Leoben.

200. The danger of Buonaparte, by his own subsequent confession, was at this moment extreme. With the armies of Germany and Hungary gathering in his front, and his rear threatened by a flank movement from the Tyrol, the occupation of Vienna would only have made his ruin more signal; and the danger being thus disposed to moderation, preliminaries were soon signed, (April 9.) Flanders and Savoy were to be ceded to France; the Cisalpine Republic, including Lombardy, with Modena, Cremona, &c., was to be established; while, in return for these concessions, the Emperor was to receive the whole Continental possessions of Venice, with the Oglio as his boundary—Venice being again indemnified at the expense of the Pope. Buonaparte himself has owned that these arrangements were made in a spirit of

Venice;" and both their injustice, and the subsequent fate of the Venetian Republic, must be laid entirely to his own charge.

201. The wealth and population of the Venetian territories still entitled the republic to a respectable rank among European states; but, without any rude external shock, its power had been sapped at the core by ages of corruption; and the Queen of the Adriatic had long veiled her weakness by a cautious neutrality. But the progress of the French arms had inspired the youth of her cities with an ardent wish to throw off the yoke of the oligarchy; and these democratic aspirations had been fomented, by Buonaparte's order, by Landrieux, one of his staff, who at the same time, with double perfidy, sought to alarm the Venetian government by exaggerated reports of the conspiracies which had come to his knowledge. On the 12th of March, the revolt openly broke out at Bergamo, and the example was followed by Brescia, Crema, and all the large towns; while the French soldiers, though taking no overt part in the movement, encouraged the insurgents. Buonaparte, when applied to by the Venetian envoys, refused to interfere; and the government was still vacillating between the necessity for action and the fear of offending the French, when a furious counter-insurrection broke out early in April. The peasants of the mountain valleys poured down on the plains, and, attacking indiscriminately the democrats and the French, gained considerable advantages: at Verona, the wounded French in the hospital were cruelly put to death—and thus Buonaparte was furnished with only too fair an excuse for the work of retribution.

202. As soon as the armistice of Leoben concluded, than the plains were covered with French troops—the peasants were disarmed, and their leaders shot; while the senate, thunderstruck at this new aspect of affairs, did all in their power to avert their fate. They had still 14,000 troops in the capital, which was powerfully defended by batteries and gun-boats, and well provisioned; but the poison of democracy had pervaded the people; and when Buonaparte (May 3) published from Palma-Nuova his declaration of war, the knell of the republic was sounded. The

rabble instantly rose against the oligarchy, revolutionary committees were formed, and the senate was compelled to abdicate its authority, (May 12.) The labouring classes in vain attempted to resist; the French were introduced in triumph, and brought by Venetian boats to the Place of St Mark, where no foreign standard had been seen for fifteen hundred years, but where the colours of independence were never again to wave. The treasures, ships, and works of art, (among which were the famous brazen Horses of St Mark,) were seized by the French; and the Golden Book, the record of the aristocracy, was burnt at the foot of the tree of liberty.

203. During these memorable transactions in the Alps, the war had languished on the Rhine, where the French army, from the exhaustion of the public finances, was destitute of the equipage necessary for passing the river. Moreau at length supplied the deficiency from his private resources, and made the attempt at Diersheim, (April 19.) The French failed in surprising the Austrians, but effecting a lodgment, first on an islet, and at length on the opposite bank, they at last made good their landing in face of the enemy, and repulsed them with considerable loss—an exploit regarded as one of the most memorable deeds of arms in the war. Hoche, on the lower Rhine, had passed the river at Neuwied. (April 17,) but the armistice of Leoben put a stop to all operations on both sides.

204. On 16th November, in this year, the King of Prussia died, leaving to his son, Frederick-William III., a kingdom of which he had augmented the territory nearly one third, mostly out of the spoils of Poland. The new King, who was twenty-seven years of age at his accession, differed greatly in character from his father. Severe and regular in private life, he was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and the domestic virtues; but his diffidence of his own capacity threw him, in the early part of his reign, too much under the government of his ministers. He commenced his rule by the redress of various abuses, and by compelling the Countess Lichtenau, the professed mistress of his father, to surrender great part of her enormous wealth, a mea-

were forced on him by the public voice; but the foreign policy of Prussia was still, unfortunately for herself and Europe, directed to preserve even increased amity with France.

205. Meanwhile Buonaparte, sheathing his victorious sword, was holding with Josephine a court of more than regal splendour at the Chateau of Marengo, near Milan, while the negotiations for the final treaty were in progress. Genoa had hitherto maintained both its neutrality and its aristocratic constitution, as settled by Doria; but a democratic revolt was fomented, as at Venice, by the agents of France; and though the senate at first succeeded, April 25, in defeating the insurgents, the threat of armed intervention from France compelled submission; and Genoa, with a new democratic constitution, became a mere out-work of the French republic. Piedmont also experienced the bitter humiliation of the French alliance; and a fresh attempt at negotiation at Turin on the part of Great Britain, was almost instantly broken off by the arrogance of the Directory. The conferences at Montebello and Udina were in the mean time prolonged for many months; for though the high contracting parties, Austria and France, perfectly agreed on the principle of indemnifying each other at the expense of their weaker neighbours, the details were not so easily arranged; and threats of recommencing hostilities had recently been vented, when the impetuosity of Napoleon overruled the Imperial commissioners, and the treaty of CAMBRÉ-FORMIO was signed on the 17th October.

206. By this peace France acquired Flanders, with the Rhine and the Maritime Alps as a frontier. The Ionian Isles, Mantua, and Mayence, were also ceded; and Lombardy, with Modena, Bologna, Romagna, &c., and the Venetian territory to the Adige, formed the Cisalpine Republic. On the other hand, Austria acquired the city of Venice, with Istria and Dalmatia, as well as all its continental possessions in Italy, with Verona, Peschiera, and Porto Legnago, a very sufficient equivalent for what had been resigned. There were also various secret articles relative to Germany, which were to be settled by a congress at Rastadt.

V. *Expedition to Egypt.*

207. The importance of Egypt has been duly appreciated only by the greatest conquerors of ancient and modern times—by Alexander the Great and by Napoleon. Placed in the centre between Europe and Asia, on the confines of Eastern wealth and Western civilisation, this celebrated country is indicated by its geographical position as the great emporium of the commerce of the world. The greatest and most durable monuments of human industry, and the earliest efforts of civilisation, are to be sought in this primeval seat of mankind; which the revolution of ages must inevitably, sooner or later, reinstate in its pristine importance. Even under Louis XIV., the great Leibnitz had pointed out that “the true commercial route to India” lay through Egypt—and Buonaparte early conceived the opinion, which he held through life, that it was only by the possession of Egypt, and the consequent conversion of the Mediterranean into a French lake, that India could be reached, or the British power seriously affected. After the conclusion of the Italian campaign, his visions of Eastern conquest revived; and so completely was his mind engrossed by this idea, that he spent hours in examining the books relative to Egypt, which had been brought from the Ambrosian library to Paris.

208. After settling the affairs of the Cisalpine Republic, and delivering over Venice to Austria, Buonaparte returned from Italy across Switzerland to Paris. His progress was a continual triumph; and soon after his arrival, he was received in state (Jan. 2, 1798) by the Directory in their palace of the Luxembourg, on the occasion of the presentation of the treaty of Campo Formio. A magnificent standard, inscribed with the wondrous enumeration of the triumphs of the army of Italy, was borne by Joubert and Andreossi; and Talleyrand, then minister of foreign affairs, addressed the youthful general in a strain of eloquent panegyric, his reply to which was characteristically terse and laconic. Numerous other fêtes were given him by the public bodies; but he studiously withdrew himself from the general

gaze, associating chiefly with members of the Institute, and wearing its costume. The Directory, in truth, already began to fear the conqueror of Italy as a formidable rival: his dislike of the Jacobin party, now dominant, had been more than once openly expressed; and the expedition against England, to the command of which he had been named, seemed to afford a pretext for getting creditably rid of him. Under the name of the Army of England, 150,000 troops were collected on the shores of the Channel; but the battles of St Vincent and Camperdown had secured the British government from apprehension; the fleets off Brest and the coast of Spain had been strengthened, and a squadron under Nelson formed in the Mediterranean; and Buonaparte, after a short visit to the coast, gave up the project as hopeless. He now again turned his energies towards the Egyptian expedition, to which the Directory at length consented. The 3,000,000 francs, lately seized at Berne, (p. 133,) were assigned for the expenses; and the fleet of Admiral Brueys, consisting of 13 ships of the line and 14 frigates, was destined for this service, the vast preparations for which filled all the ports of Italy and Southern France. Among his lieutenants, besides those who had so ably seconded him in Italy, were Desaix and Kleber, who were as yet unknown to him: and the most illustrious *savants* of the age, Monge, Geoffroy St Hilaire, Denon, &c., joined the expedition for the purpose of scientific research. The news of a disagreement between the court of Vienna and Bernadotte, the French ambassador, retarded its departure for fifteen days; but the Directors were now too thoroughly alive to their danger from Buonaparte, to allow him a chance of evasion in order to reap laurels in another Austrian war.

209. At length (May 9) Buonaparte arrived at Toulon; and on the 19th the magnificent armament under his orders, amid the acclamations of the people and the thunders of artillery, set sail from the harbour. The fleet, after the junction of the squadrons from Genoa and Ajaccio, consisted of 15 men-of-war, 14 frigates, and numerous smaller vessels, with a convoy of 400 transports, bearing 35,000 soldiers. This formidable force appeared off

on 10th June; and the impregnable fortifications, which had baffled all the efforts of the Turks in the days of Selim and the magnificent, were yielded without firing a shot, by the treachery of the Grand-Master Hompesch, and the treachery of the French knights, who had been previously tampered with by Bonaparte's agents. The accumulated treasures of the Order, the plate of the churches and hospitals, and the vast warlike stores of the arsenal, were seized and embarked: a garrison of 3000 men under General Vaubois was left to maintain this important conquest, and after a delay of only nine days, the fleet, laden with plunder, resumed its voyage to Egypt. On the night of the 22d, they crossed the track of Nelson's squadron, which was seeking to intercept them, at so short a distance that the British signal-guns were distinctly heard. An encounter at this juncture might have changed the future history of the world: but the French held on their course unobserved; and at daybreak, (July 1,) the low sandy shores of Egypt lay stretched before them. On the morning of the following day, before the disembarkation of the troops was completed, Buonaparte pushed forward with 5000 men against Alexandria, which, after a short resistance from the Turks, was carried by assault.

210. The population of Egypt at this period consisted of about 2,500,000, divided into four classes. Two of these, the Copts or native Christians, and the Turks or Janissaries, descended from the troops left in the country on the Ottoman conquest, did not number more than 200,000 each: the great mass of the people were the Arabs, of whom there were upwards of 2,000,000. The highest class of these comprised the landed proprietors, the doctors of the law, &c.: the great body of the people were *fellahs* or cultivators, and many still adhered to the wandering life of their Bedoween forefathers. But the actual rulers of the land were the Mamlukes, a singular militia, amounting to 10,000 or 12,000 of the finest cavalry in the world, who were constantly recruited by young slaves from Circassia, bred up in the households of their Beys. Of these chiefs there were ordinarily twenty-four, who divided the country in feudal sovereignty, tyrannising

over the inhabitants, and left scarcely a shadow of authority. The Pasha sent from the Porte. At this period, the sovereignty was virtually divided by two of the most powerful Arab tribes, the Mamluks and Moutahs; the former of whom managed the civil government, while Mourad, younger and more warlike than his colleague, commanded the troops.

211. As the season of the rise of the Nile was approaching, Buonaparte was anxious to advance on Cairo before military operations were stopped by the inundation; and on 6th July the army, reduced to 30,000 men by the garrisons left in Malta and at Alexandria, set out on its march. He had previously addressed to the troops a proclamation exhorting them "to manifest for the Koran the same respect they had shown for the religions of Moses and Christ!"—a phrase conveying a faithful picture of the feelings of his soldiers, who were mostly ignorant, not only of the faith, but of the very tenets of Christianity; hardly one of them, as Lavalette has recorded, had ever been in a church! Another proclamation assured the Egyptians that *the French were also true Moslems*, and that, having destroyed the Pope and the knights of Malta, the eternal enemies of Islam, they had now come to rescue Egypt from the usurped sway of the Mamlukes.

212. During the passage of the desert the troops experienced all the horrors of thirst; but their sufferings were relieved by their arrival on the Nile, where they joined their flotilla. The first encounter with the Mamlukes at Chebreis (July 19) terminated in the repulse of the enemy; and the decisive battle of the Pyramids was fought on the 21st. Six thousand Mamlukes, with 12,000 Arabs and auxiliaries, were assembled under the command of Mourad Bey for the defence of Cairo; and their camp was intrenched and strengthened with artillery. But Buonaparte directed his attack to the extreme right, beyond the range of their guns: and all the reckless gallantry of the Mamlukes, who charged the French squares on every side, and dashed their horses headlong on the bayonets, was unable to withstand the tremendous fire of grape and musketry with which they were met and repulsed. They were finally driven from the field in

horrible confusion: 2000 fell in the battle; and many were drowned in the Nile. Mourad Bey, with a small force, escaped into Upper Egypt,—Ibrahim fled into Syria; and, two days after the battle, Buonaparte entered Cairo; where his soldiers at length forgot their toils in the indulgence of Oriental luxury.

213. The French were now virtually masters of Egypt, and the battle of the Pyramids struck terror far into Asia and Africa; while the impartiality of the civil government established by Buonaparte, and his studied compliance with their religious and national usages, in some measure conciliated the sheikhs and people. Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Egypt, was again routed and driven back to Syria; and while Buonaparte was planning at Cairo the dismemberment of the Othman empire, all the diplomacy of Talleyrand and Ruffin was exerted at Constantinople to lull the Porte into the belief that the hostility of France was directed only against the rebellious Beys. But it was impossible long to blind the Divan to the tendency of French policy: Ruffin was sent to the Seven Towers; and a Turkish manifesto appeared (Sept. 10) denouncing the treachery of the Republic with all the eloquence of honest indignation, and formally declaring war against France. Even the national animosity of the Turks and Russians was suspended by their joint hatred of the common enemy; and the united squadrons, steering through the Hellespont, blockaded Corfu.

214. But in the mean time a desperate reverse had befallen Buonaparte by sea, brought about by the genius of that illustrious man who seemed to have been at this time the instrument of Providence to balance the destiny of nations. After having narrowly missed the French fleet on its voyage to Egypt, Nelson had traversed the Levant backwards and forwards in search of them; and at length (Aug. 1) returned to Alexandria, where he found the men-of-war under Brueys at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, the inner harbour of Alexandria not having sufficient depth of water. Their order of battle, supported on one extremity by land batteries, and on the other by shoals, had been considered impregnable to attack: but Nelson at once resolved to penetrate

between the shore and the hostile line, and thus commenced the battle of the Nile. The number of ships was equal on either side: but the French had greatly the advantage in the number* of guns and men over the British, whose vessels were all seventy-fours, while their opponents had the *Orient* of 120, besides two 80-gun ships. The British ships, led by Captain Foley in the *Goliath*, successively passed between the outmost French ship and the shore, opening their fire as they ranged in shore; in such a way that an overwhelming force was brought to bear against two-thirds of the enemy's squadron, while the remainder were moored at too great a distance to join with effect in the action. In spite, therefore, of the determined resistance of the French, the battle, which had begun at 3 p. m., soon inclined in favour of the British: before nine, three ships had struck and two were dismasted; and the huge *Orient*, bursting into flames, which all the efforts of her crew were unable to subdue, blew up with an explosion so tremendous that the fire on both sides was for some time suspended as if by consent. The fire slackened after midnight, and by day-break the magnitude of the victory was apparent; the whole French line had struck, except two men-of-war and two frigates, which stood out to sea—the shattered state of the British ships preventing pursuit. No sooner was the triumph complete, than perfect stillness pervaded the victorious armament; while thanksgivings were offered up by the whole fleet for the success vouchsafed to them by the Almighty.

215. Early in the battle, the British admiral had received a severe wound on the head: but he would not allow it to be inspected till those wounded before him had been attended, and regained the deck to give orders for the assistance of the *Orient's* sinking crew. Nor was the enthusiastic courage of the French less conspicuous. Brueys fell on his quarter-deck; Casa-Bianca, captain of the *Orient*, was mortally wounded before his ship blew up; and most of the other captains were either killed or disabled. Of 18 ships of the line, 9 were taken and 2 burnt; of 4 frigates, 1 was sunk and 1 burnt; 5725 men were killed, wounded, or

* English, 1012 guns, 8068 men; French, 1196 guns, 11,250 men.

missing; 3105 taken prisoners and sent on shore. The British lost 895 killed and wounded.

216. Such was the battle of the Nile, which Nelson truly termed, "not a victory, but a conquest!" Had Nelson possessed a few frigates, or bomb-vessels, all the transports in the harbour of Alexandria might have been destroyed; but even as it was, it was a mortal stroke to the French army, who were thus exiled, without hope of return, on an inhospitable shore.

217. In this critical situation, however, the firmness of Buonaparte, far from forsaking him, only prompted him to redouble his efforts for organising the resources of the country in which he was now isolated. Mills, hospitals, printing-presses, and foundries were established; canals re-explored, and the geography and antiquities of the country sedulously investigated. Desaix pursued Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt, and completely routed him at Sidiman, (Oct. 7;) and the French sway was further riveted by the suppression of a formidable revolt (Oct. 21) in Cairo, the leaders of which were thrown into the Nile. But the ardent mind of Buonaparte had now begun to conceive new and gigantic plans of conquest: not only did he resolve on anticipating, by an invasion of Syria, the advance of a Turkish army there mustering for the attack of Egypt, but he confidently expected that, by rousing the natives of that country and Asia Minor, he might assemble an Asiatic host round a nucleus of French veterans, which would enable him either to march on Constantinople, and erect a new empire in the East, or to invade India through Persia, and overturn the dominion of the British! But for the accomplishment of these magnificent projects, only 13,000 infantry, with 900 horse, could be spared from the reduced army of Egypt; and with these Buonaparte marched, Feb. 11, 1799. Arish, the frontier town of Syria, surrendered; but Jaffa held out and was taken by storm (March 6) after a gallant resistance. Four thousand of the Turkish garrison laid down their arms on the promise of quarter; but it was found impossible to feed this multitude of captives, and they were all shot in cold blood—an act of atrocious cruelty, which Buonaparte and his apologists have

desperately endeavoured to discontinue, and which probably wrought its own speedy extinction by emboldening the desperate defence of Acre.

216. It was not the loss of Acre that the French appeared before this celebrated fortress. There Ismael Pasha, Pasha of Syria, had set himself up with his arms and treasures. Though the battle the train had been sent on its passage from Egypt by sea by a well-known vessel, the *Sir Sidney Smith*, who lay with a squadron of British ships, the besiegers pushed their advances so rapidly, that an assault was made on 15th March; but this, and another on 1st April, were repulsed with loss by the Turks. A force of 30,000 Syrian Moslems had in the mean time been sent together in the rear of the invaders; but these irregulars were repulsed at Nazareth (April 8) by Kleber, and finally routed and dispersed with great slaughter (April 16) at Mount Tabor, by Buonaparte with only 6000 men. The siege of Acre was now resumed, but with no better success than before: the defenders, reinforced by the arrival of a Turkish squadron, and aided by the British seamen and marines, held their ground with a fanatic bravery which all the efforts of the French were unable to overcome; and after losing 3000 men in repeated fruitless assaults, Buonaparte, for the first time in his life, (May 20,) ordered a retreat.

219. Buonaparte was deeply affected by this repulse, which destroyed his splendid dreams of Oriental conquest; and he frequently referred to it afterwards as "the event which made him miss his destiny." The retreat to Egypt was marked by all the horrors of war: the plague broke out in the army, and the Arabs and British incessantly harassed the march. At Jaffa, as is generally believed, a number of the sick, whom it was impossible to remove, were poisoned by the general's orders; but as they were thus saved from a cruel death at the hands of the Turks, the act may perhaps be justified on grounds, not only of necessity, but of humanity. Meanwhile the government of Egypt had been administered with prudence and success, in Buonaparte's absence, by Desaix, who had repressed a fanatical revolt in Lower Egypt,

and had driven Mourad Bey into Nubia. But a fresh danger now presented itself in the disembarkation (July 11) of a strong Turkish force at Aboukir. Buonaparte attacked them here, (July 25 ;) and the Turks, who had no cavalry, were overpowered, after a gallant resistance, by the impetuous charges of the horse under Murat. Hardly one of their force escaped: 5000, descending quarter, were drowned in the bay; 2000 were slain; and 2000, with their general, Mustapha Pasha, taken prisoners.

220. But the intelligence which now reached Buonaparte of the reverses of the French in Italy and Switzerland, in the renewed war with the Allies, joined with the hopelessness of further great successes in Egypt, determined him to return to the scenes of his early triumphs; and on 22d August he suddenly embarked at Alexandria, with Lannes, Murat, Berthier, Marmont, and others of his most trusted followers, and sailed with two frigates for Europe. Though several times in danger from the British cruisers, his good fortune did not desert him; and after touching, for a few days, at his native town of Ajaccio, he arrived in the bay of Frejus, (Oct 8,) and was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the people. The quarantine laws were by common consent disregarded: Buonaparte landed in a few hours, and set off the same day for Paris.

VI. *Establishment of the Affiliated Republics.*

221. The two years of Continental peace which followed the treaty of Campo Formio are eminently instructive in a political point of view, as putting to the test the alleged pacific tendency of the revolutionary system, and showing by actual experiment how wholly the existence of a turbulent democracy, like that of France, the popular passions roused by which can find an adequate vent only in the enterprise of foreign warfare, is incompatible with the independence of adjoining states.

222. Of all the late enemies of the Republic Great Britain alone remained in arms; and the contest was continued, on her part, not from inclination, but from the apparent impossibility of

accepting peace on reasonable terms. Her preparations, therefore, were principally defensive: the seas were guarded by 104 ships of the line, with 300 frigates and smaller vessels, manned by 100,000 seamen:—109,000 regulars, and 63,000 militia, were in arms. But the threat of invasion had given rise to a new feature in her military policy, the *volunteer system*, or general arming of the people—a measure strongly proving the confidence which the ministers now placed in the general patriotism of the people, and which the result showed to be well founded. In a few weeks, 150,000 volunteers were enrolled and equipped; and in the success of this first great attempt to enlist popular energy *against* revolutionary principles, may be found the model of those dauntless bands by which, fifteen years later, the liberation of Germany was accomplished. The budget for the year, exclusive of the charges for the debt and the sinking-fund, amounted to £28,450,000—and the interest of a fresh loan of £15,000,000 was provided for, as far as practicable, by trebling for a limited period part of the assessed taxes.

223. The ruined finances of France, meanwhile, were partially reinstated by the summary measure of national bankruptcy, (p. 154,) and the policy of the Directory began to evince that passion for foreign aggression which invariably characterises democracy. The first victim was Holland; which, though a central democratic government had been established on its conquest by Pichegru, still adhered to the ancient federation of the provinces, the diets of which were mostly swayed by the old patrician families. Openly supported by the French minister Delacroix, and an armed force under Joubert, the democrats rose in revolt, (Jan. 22, 1796,) imprisoned the leaders of the opposite party, and declared the federal union superseded by a republic *one and indivisible*. A Council of Ancients, and a Chamber of Deputies, with five Directors, were established, in every respect like those at Paris: but this new government soon became so hateful to the people that the French Directory, fearing the loss of their influence in Holland, authorised General Daendels to overthrow it. A revolution was accordingly effected, by military force, (May 4,) with-

out pretence even of authority from the people: and a provisional government was formed, consisting of Daendels and two associates, all entirely in the interest of France.

224. Even the seclusion and perfect neutrality of Switzerland could no longer save it from the same devouring ambition. Though the constitutions of the cantons were various,—Berne and others being highly aristocratic, and the Forest Cantons no less democratic,—security to persons and property, and religious freedom, were enjoyed by all; and the practical blessings of the system were demonstrated by the prosperity of the peasantry and the density of the population—features rarely found in unison. The principal defect of the general constitution was the political subjection of some cantons to others, and the exclusion of the subject districts from equality of rights: thus the Pays de Vaud was subject to Berne, the Italian bailiwicks to Uri, &c. Of this circumstance the Directors availed themselves to carry into effect their projects, which had long been concerted with Ochs, La Harpe, and other leaders of the Swiss democrats. Their first demand, (1797,) for the dismissal of the British resident Wickham, had been complied with by the Diet; but, in October of the same year, an open rupture was brought on by Buonaparte, who not only supported the Valteline in its insurrection against the Grisons, but seized the disputed territory, and annexed it, by his own authority, to the Cisalpine Republic.

225. Revolts in the Valais and the Pays de Vaud immediately followed; and the Diet, which assembled at Aarau to deliberate on this emergency, received a notification (Dec. 17) from the French envoy, Mengaud, that the insurgents had been taken under the protection of the Directory. To support this iniquitous procedure, 10,000 troops were advanced to the frontier; while Ochs and Mengaud were busily revolutionising northern Switzerland, and the tricolor was already hoisted at Zurich and Bale. The Directory now openly announced that they would be satisfied only by the establishment of a revolutionary constitution; and the senate of Berne, driven to desperation, summoned the Alpine shepherds to arms. The call was instantly obeyed by 20,000

heroic mountaineers, who, headed by Steiger and d'Erlach, opposed an undaunted front to the invaders. But this glorious example was not imitated by the towns: Soleure and Friburg surrendered, (March 2;) and many of the peasants, believing themselves betrayed, disbanded and returned home. A bloody battle, however, took place before Berne on the 5th: but the patriotic resolution of the Swiss, in whose ranks old men, children, and even women, fought with the courage of despair, was overborne by the numbers and artillery of the French: the gallant d'Erlach was murdered by his own men, who accused him of treachery; and Berne capitulated the same evening.

226. The first care of the victors was to seize the arsenal and the public treasure, which was estimated at 2800,000, the savings of ages, and which is said to have been their chief incentive, as its capture enabled the Directory to fit out the expedition to Egypt. A Directory, with its usual democratic concomitants, was appointed, and the new constitution proclaimed (Feb. 12) at Aran. Lucerne, Zurich, with all the level parts of Switzerland, speedily joined the innovating party; and Geneva was seized and united to France. But the enormous exactions of the French speedily alarmed all classes; and the mountain cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, &c., stimulated by their clergy, and animated by the traditions of their forefathers, unanimously rejected the new constitution, and prepared to resist it to the uttermost. They assumed the offensive without delay, and occupied Lucerne; but were soon driven back into their mountains, where 3000 Schwytzers, under the heroic Aloys Reding, encountered and held at bay more than twice their number of French, at Morgarten. But the contest was too hopeless to be continued; and a convention put a stop, for some months, to hostilities. The exaction of an oath to the new Swiss Directory, however, re-kindled the flame; and 3000 peasants of Unterwalden, with a few auxiliaries from Schwytz and Uri, after opposing 16,000 French troops with devoted valour, (Sept. 9,) perished to a man on their bayonets. An alliance, offensive and defensive, with France had already (Aug. 4) been forced on the new Swiss government; the

Grisons alone (by invoking the aid of Austria, which was guaranteed by treaties) preserved their freedom and ancient institutions. No act of the whole revolution was so effectual in opening the eyes of its European partisans, as this cruel and unprovoked attack on the unoffending Swiss: even the Whig leaders in England confessed that "the mask had fallen from the face of revolutionary France, if, indeed, it had ever worn it."

227. Since the French conquests in Italy, and the treaty of Campo Formio, the Pope had been entirely at their mercy. His resources were exhausted by the immense payments stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino; and the French embassy at Rome became a focus of revolutionary intrigue. The great age and feebleness of Pius VI., whose decease was daily expected, induced the Directory to forward orders to their agents, Jerome Buonaparte and Duphot, to delay the explosion till after his death; but their activity had been too quick for these instructions. On 27th December an immense crowd assembled before the French embassy, loudly demanding the proclamation of the "Roman Republic;" but a skirmish ensued with a body of Papal dragoons, and Duphot was killed while encouraging the insurgents. The ambassador, Jerome Buonaparte, immediately left Rome: war was declared; and Berthier, rapidly advancing with 18,000 men, appeared before the Eternal City, (Feb. 10, 1798,) where he was tumultuously welcomed by the noisy multitude. The aged Pope, refusing with the firmness of a martyr to abdicate or submit, was dragged by force from his palace: even his rings were torn from his fingers; and he was sent under a guard into Tuscany. But the veneration with which he was here treated excited the apprehensions of his persecutors; and after frequently changing the place of his confinement, he was dragged across the Alps and Apennines to Valence, where he died, (Aug. 29, 1799,) in the 82d year of his age and 24th of his pontificate.

228. But, long before the venerable pontiff had sunk beneath his sufferings, Rome had experienced the bitterness of republican fraternisation. Not only were unheard-of contributions in money and stores exacted from the city, but it was subjected to

a systematic pillage, unexampled even in French revolutionary warfare. The churches, the convents, the palaces were stripped even to the bare walls: the galleries and works of art were confiscated: even the private clothes of the Pope were sold, and his sacerdotal vestments burned, in order to extract from the ashes the gold which adorned them. The cardinals were banished or imprisoned: all the church and monastery lands were declared national property; and so infamous was the spoliation as to excite the indignation even of the army. While the generals and commissaries were enriching themselves, the inferior officers and soldiers were half naked and almost starving; and the arrival of Massena, who was notorious for his previous extortions, produced a violent mutiny, (Feb. 24,) both at Rome and Mantua, which was only appeased by his departure. The work was concluded by the imposition, on the Roman Republic, of a new constitution, on the French model, and an alliance offensive and defensive with France.

229. A treaty had been concluded (March 29) between France and its infant offspring, the Cisalpine Republic, by which 25,000 French troops were to be quartered in the territory of the latter. But this virtual subjugation was highly unpopular with the Cisalpine democrats; and various ineffectual efforts were made to shake off the yoke of their overbearing ally, till the unequal contest ended (Dec. 6, 1798) in the dissolution of the legislature by French bayonets, and the establishment of a new constitution dictated by a French ambassador. The King of Sardinia was the next victim. Since the peace of 1796, this monarch had been subject to constant insult and humiliation from his republican allies, till at length (June 1798) a democratic revolt was fomented, and openly supported by the Ligurian Republic of Genoa. The French availed themselves of this outbreak to cajole and menace the King into putting the citadel of Turi into their hands for security—a concession which rendered him a mere state-prisoner in their hands. The violent seizure of the remaining fortresses, by the French general, Grouchy, soon followed: the King, finding his life in danger, with difficulty escaped (Dec.)

to Sardinia, and all his Continental dominions fell into the hands of the French.

230. While these events were in progress in Northern Italy, the kingdom of Naples was already overthrown. The Neapolitan cabinet, justly alarmed at the fate of the other Italian states, had for some time been preparing against the threatened danger by increasing their military establishments, and concluding an alliance with Austria : but the news of the battle of the Nile, and the arrival of Nelson at Naples with his victorious fleet, raised to such a height the enthusiasm of the war party, which was headed by the Queen and Lady Hamilton, (wife of the British ambassador,) that immediate hostilities were rashly resolved on. The Austrian general, Mack, had been sent from Vienna to take the command of the army : but this officer, though a skilful strategist on paper, was totally without the qualities necessary for success in the field ; and the result was in accordance. The incapacity of the general, and the cowardice of the troops, rendered the campaign one series of blunders and disasters ; for though the superiority of their numbers, and the wide dispersion of the French corps, enabled the Neapolitans to occupy Rome (Nov. 29) and enter Tuscany, they were driven back at every point, in the utmost confusion and dismay, as soon as the French had collected their forces. Championnet re-entered Rome, (Dec. 10 ;) and the court, not conceiving themselves safe in their own capital, embarked with all their treasures and most valuable effects (Dec. 21) on board the British fleet for Sicily.

231. Championnet immediately followed up his success by the invasion of Naples, which his troops entered at five different points. The enemy everywhere fled at his approach, and Gaeta, the strongest place in the kingdom, surrendered without firing a shot. But his progress was stayed by the strong ramparts of Capua ; and the peasantry, whose ferocious valour remarkably contrasted with the pusillanimity of the soldiers, harassed his insulated columns with such determined fury, that his communications were nearly cut off. But Mack, who had lost all confidence in the Neapolitans, unexpectedly relieved him by offering

to give up Capua, with two other fortresses, on the price of an armistice for two months (Jan. 11, 1793,) and shortly after consulted his own safety, which was threatened by his soldiers, by taking refuge in the French camp. Championnet, having reunited his scattered forces, moved on the capital; but the lazzaroni of Naples, though deserted by their king, their army, and their natural leaders, fought with the most infuriated bravery in defence of their country. The desperate conflict continued from the 21st to the 23d of January in the environs, the gate, and even the streets of the city; and it was not till the castles of "The Egg" and of St Elmo had been seized by a body of Neapolitan democrats in the interest of the French that the lazzaroni leaders submitted. The usual results of French conquest succeeded; all the public treasures and effects were confiscated; and a new democratic state was proclaimed, under the name of the Parthenopean Republic.

232. While Italy was thus everywhere falling under the yoke of the French Directory, Great Britain underwent a perilous political crisis on the side of Ireland. Without entering into the various causes which had contributed, during the five centuries since the English conquest, to the continued sufferings of this unhappy country, it must be allowed that the uniform policy pursued towards it during the whole reign of George III. had been eminently indulgent and beneficent. From 1780 to 1798, the most galling parts of the oppressive code, imposed after the Revolution of 1688, had been removed: but sedition continued unabated; and the leaders of the malcontents had been for some years in intimate correspondence with France. An association called the "United Irishmen," and comprising many hundred thousand members, had been organised throughout the kingdom, under a most complete and efficacious system of secret subordination, the names of the chiefs being unknown to the inferior agents, who obeyed the orders of an invisible power. Their real object—the overthrow of the British government, and the formation of a republic allied to France—was veiled by the pretence of seeking parliamentary reform; while the lower

leaders were allured by the prospect of liberation from tithes to the Protestant clergy, and the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith. The armed assistance of France had been secured by a treaty concluded at Paris in June 1796 by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and O'Connor, the leaders of the insurrection; but the dispersion of the French fleet at Bantry, and the victory of Camperdown, ruined these hopes. The insurgents, becoming desperate, broke out into violence, which was retaliated by the Protestant yeomanry and the *Orangemen*, a society formed for the support of the British ascendancy. At the beginning of 1798 matters came to a crisis: fourteen of the chiefs, whose names had been revealed, were seized in Dublin, (March 12;) and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who escaped at the time, was mortally wounded some time after in resisting his arrest.

233. Notwithstanding the capture of the leaders, the rebellion broke out at once, in many different points, about the end of May. The attempt on Dublin was frustrated by the vigilance of the lord-lieutenant; but fierce encounters took place in various quarters between the royal troops and the insurgents. The latter were generally worsted; but their main force, 15,000 strong, gained a victory at Enniscorthy, and captured Wexford. They were, however, again routed at New Ross and Newtownbarry; and at length (June 21) they sustained a total defeat at Vinegar-hill, in the county of Wexford. The insurrection was now completely got under, and an amnesty had been granted by the government; when the Directory, which had been unaccountably supine during the height of the civil war, made an attempt to revive the contest by landing 1100 men, (Aug. 22,) under General Humbert, at Killala. A militia force of 4000 men was utterly routed at Castlebar; but the French were eventually compelled to surrender (Sept. 8) to a corps under Lord Cornwallis. A French squadron, which shortly after repeated the attempt, was captured by Sir John Borlase Warren; and Wolfe Tone, who was on board, prevented a public execution by suicide.

234. The British naval annals of this year (1798) present nothing of note, except the capture of Minorca; but the unbounded

arrogance of the Directory had nearly involved France in a naval war with the United States. The dispute arose from a decree (Jan.) declaring contraband the cargoes of all ships, neutral or otherwise, which had touched at a British port: letters of marque were issued, and numerous vessels belonging to Americans (who were then the great neutral carriers of the world) captured by French privateers. The envoys sent to Paris were denied a public audience of the Directors; while it was privately intimated to them that a public loan of £1,000,000 from the States to the Republic, and a further gift or bribe of £50,000 for the private use of the Directors, was indispensable for their favourable reception. This disgraceful proposal was indignantly rejected; the envoys left Paris, and all commercial intercourse with France was suspended. The Hanse Towns, less fortunate, were compelled to purchase inviolability for their neutral flag by the payment of £150,000.

255. At the end of this year, France had no less than six affiliated republics at her side—the Batavian, Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetic, Roman, and Parthenopeian—and her dominion was thus virtually established from the Texel to the extremity of Calabria. Meanwhile the negotiations at Rastatt, notwithstanding their length and intricacy, had led to no satisfactory result. When the secret articles of Campo Formio transpired, which stipulated the extension of the Republican frontier to the Rhine, loud reclamations broke out from the German princes thus dispossessed, against this dismemberment of the Empire; but the Imperial ministers replied with truth, that Austria had exhausted her resources in efforts to maintain the integrity of Germany: “If she has been unsuccessful, let those answer for it who contributed nothing towards the common cause.” The question of indemnifying the deprived princes next came under consideration; but before this was settled, the conferences were brought to an unexpected close. The residence of Bernadotte, the French ambassador at Vienna, had been attacked and outraged by the mob, whom he had irritated by an imprudent parade of revolutionary emblems;—and before this insult had been satis-

factorily explained, the march of the Russian army through Moravia gave fresh unbrage. The Directory declared that the crossing of the Germanic frontier by the Russians would be considered a declaration of war; and as this notice was disregarded, the negotiations at Rastadt came virtually to an end.

VII. Campaign of 1799.

236. The battle of the Nile, by destroying the spell of Republican invincibility, had everywhere revived the spirit of resistance to France. Austria felt that she might now retrieve her losses, and was ready for the field with an admirably equipped army of 250,000 men, with an immense artillery, and supported by 60,000 Russians under Suwarroff, whom the Czar had at length sent to aid the common cause. Turkey was preparing her fleets and armies to enclose the victor of the Pyramids in the kingdom he had won; and an offensive and defensive alliance had been concluded (Dec. 18, 1798) between Great Britain and Russia, in which Britain agreed to advance £225,000, and a monthly subsidy of £75,000, as the price of Russian co-operation.

237. Foreseeing the fresh confederacy thus formed against them, the French Directory had resorted, without scruple to every means of recruiting their shattered finances; while, to fill the ranks of the army, which had been greatly thinned by the subsidence of the revolutionary fervour, they enacted the famous Law of the Conscription, by which every Frenchman from 20 to 45 was declared liable to military service, and to be drawn by lot as the youngest, second, or third class was to be called on. A levy of 200,000 men on this principle was immediately ordered. Holland and Switzerland were each called on for a contingent of 18,000 men;—and the Republic was again ready for the field. But 35,000 of her best troops, and her ablest general, were exiles in Egypt; and of all her vast armies, only 170,000 men were disposable for the actual shock of war. The Austrian forces were superior both in number and equipment; and the arrival of the Russians, who had not yet come up, would soon still further

increase their superiority. Hostilities commenced by the passage of the Upper Rhine by Jourdan, on 1st March; while Massena simultaneously invaded the Grisons and the Tyrol. On 6th March the Austrian general Auffenberg, surrounded by Massena in the Grisons, was compelled to lay down his arms, with 2000 men; while Oudinot on the left drove Hotze within the intrenchments of Feldkirch. Lecourbe, crossing from Bellinzona by the terrible defile of the Via-Mala, advanced against the Austrian position at Martinsbruck, while Loison and Dessoles assailed it in rear (March 25;) and Laudon, the Imperial commander, escaped with only a few hundred men by the Gebatch glacier. But, in the mean time, Feldkirch, strong both in its fortifications and its position, had baffled with great loss all the attacks of Massena and Oudinot, and they fell back across the Rhine.

General Jourdan, during these movements, had taken up a strong position between the Danube and the lake of Constance; but he was here attacked (March 21) by the Archduke, and compelled to fall back with considerable loss before the numerical superiority of the Imperialists, to Stockach, the point where the roads to Suabia and Switzerland unite. As he could not retire further without abandoning his communications with Massena, he attacked the Austrians on the morning of the 26th March, and a general battle ensued. The right wing of the enemy was turned by the vigorous onset of Soult and St Cyr; but the Archduke instantly repaired in person to the menaced point with the flower of his troops, and a furious struggle took place. The French held their vantage-ground with obstinate valour, and the Princes of Furstenberg and Anhalt-Bernberg were killed in leading the Austrian grenadiers; but Soult was at length compelled to give way, and the retreating columns were charged and overwhelmed by the Imperial cuirassiers. The loss was nearly equal—about 5000 on each side; but the victory of the Austrians was decisive. The orders of the Aulic Council, however, prevented the Archduke from pursuing the French before Switzerland was cleared of the enemy; and they were allowed to retreat unmolested through the Black Forest, and across the Rhine, (April 7.)

239. Jourdan soon after resigned the command in disgust, and the armies on the Rhine and in the Alps were united under Massena. Drawing back his advanced posts on the Inn and Upper Adige, and abandoning the Rhine, this able general concentrated his forces on an inner line of defence, on the river Limmat or Linth, a stream running through the lake of Zurich, in which town he fixed his headquarters. On 30th April, the Imperialists made a general attack on his whole line in the Grisons, while the peasants of the small cantons rose in insurrection in his rear; but though the Austrians failed in forcing the French communications at Luciensteg, Massena was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Engadine, in order to crush the revolvers, who were punished with all the severity of military execution. A second attack on Luciensteg (May 14) was more successful: after a desperate conflict, that important fortified post was carried by Hotze, and its defenders made prisoners. The French were now again compelled to fall back: Lecourbe, with the right wing, held the line of the river Reuss, while the bulk of the army assembled round the headquarters at Zurich; till the Archduke crossing the Rhine at Stein and Eglisau, (May 22.) forced the French centre at Steigpass, (May 25.) and effected his junction with Hotze, who had crossed the upper part of the stream in the Grisons. Loison, on the extreme right, was meanwhile defeated at Monte-Cenero by Hohenzollern, and at length (May 29) driven with loss over the snowy summit of the St Gothard to Wasen.

240. Massena, with his characteristic obstinacy, still held his defensive position at Zurich, the natural strength of which he had improved by the erection of formidable redoubts. On the 5th of June, the whole extent of his lines was attacked by the Austrian main army under the Archduke; and though, after a bloody conflict, the assailants were repulsed with a loss of 3000 men, the French commander retreated during the night, and took up fresh ground on Mount Albis, between the lake of Zurich and the Aar. The vast stores in the arsenals of Zurich fell into the hands of the Imperialists; the provisional government of the

Helvetic Republic fled from Lucerne to Berne; and the contingent of 12,000 men, which the Swiss had been forced to furnish for the French armies, deserted their unwelcome allies by whole battalions, and were almost entirely dissolved.

241. The commencement of hostilities in Italy was equally unfavourable to the Republican arms. Scherer had only 57,000 men, including conscripts, ready on the Adige to oppose 58,000 Imperialists, with 6000 horse lying on the Tagliamento under Kray, supported by a reserve of 25,000 in Carinthia, and provided with an exceedingly numerous and effective field-artillery, in which arm they had made great improvements during the two years' peace. The anxiety of the French general, however, to anticipate the arrival of the Russians under Suwarroff, led him to commence an attack (March 26) on the Austrian positions, which was at first successful, and the Republicans nearly reached the walls of Verona; but this partial advantage was counter-balanced by the want and dispersion of the left wing, and the action led to no decisive results. It soon became obvious, however, that the genius of Bonaparte was not possessed by his successor: the French sustained severe loss in repeated attempts to cross the Adige, till, after numerous counter-marches and partial actions, the two armies encountered each other (April 5) on the marshy plain of Magnano: the French having 41,000 men in the field, the Austrians nearly 45,000. The nature of the ground, intersected with numerous small streams, was unfavourable to combined operations; each division combated almost separately, and the fortune of the day was inclining in favour of the French, when it was restored by the advance of Kray in person with the reserve. The French right wing was entirely routed and driven off the field, and the whole army gave way in disorder, with the loss of 4000 prisoners, and the same number killed and wounded. The Republicans retreated in confusion behind the Mincio, loudly murmuring at the incapacity of their general; while the Austrians, slowly pursuing, were joined, a few days after the battle, by 30,000 Russians under the famous Suwarroff.

242. Moreau at the same time succeeded Scherer in the command of the French army of Italy; but it was reduced by sickness and the sword to 28,000 combatants, and, abandoning the immense stores and reserve artillery at Cremona, he fell back behind the Adda. The frontier fortresses of the Cisalpine Republic were thus left to their own resources: Peschiera was carried by assault; Brescia surrendered to Kray (April 20;) Mantua and Ferrara were blockaded, and Suwarroff prepared to force the passage of the Adda. All the points favourable to this design had been carefully fortified by the French; but the divisions of Ott and Wukassovich succeeded (on the night of April 25-6) in effecting the passage by surprise at different points, and thus intercepting the communications between the French corps. Serrurier was totally cut off, and obliged to surrender with 7000 men: the French retreated in confusion behind the Ticino, and Suwarroff entered Milan in triumph, (April 29.) Moreau, in the mean time, whose forces now amounted to scarce a third of those opposed to him, continued to retire, in two columns, on Turin and Alessandria, there to await the arrival of Macdonald and his army from Naples. He repulsed with loss an attempt of the Russian corps of Rosenberg to cross the Po at Valenza, (May 11:) but, finding his ground rendered untenable by a general insurrection of the Piedmontese peasants, he attempted to retreat by the crest of the Apennines towards Turin. Suwarroff, however, had made a rapid movement towards that city, which was surprised (May 27) by his advanced guard under Wukassovich: the castle of Milan had fallen on the 24th, thus completing the conquest of Lombardy; and Moreau was compelled to turn his steps towards Genoa, the only rallying point where he could hope to be joined by Macdonald. The great road, however, was blocked up by the town of Ceva, which was successfully defended by the insurgents, aided by a small Austrian force; and Moreau's situation would have been hopeless had not the exertions of the French engineers succeeded in making the mountain paths of the Apennines practicable for artillery—and by these tracks he arrived safe at Loano, after leaving a

at Genoa. Suwarroff, well aware of the value of time in war, was eager to attack Moreau's discomfited army in the rugged Alps before the arrival of Macdonald; but the positive orders of the Aulic Council restrained him from attempting anything further in this quarter till Mantua had fallen; and he had accordingly to confine his operations to spreading his troops through Piedmont, and up to the old frontiers of France.

243. Meanwhile Macdonald—leaving behind him an insurrection in Northern Italy, which the co-operation of Nelson's fleet soon made successful—moved rapidly northwards with 35,000 men to the assistance of Moreau. The plan now concerted between these two generals was to threaten the communications of the Allies by a demonstration on the Lower Po—a scheme rendered feasible by the immense dispersion of the Allied corps. Macdonald, accordingly, after re-organising his troops, crossed the Apennines, and drove the Imperialists with loss from Modena, Parma, and Piacenza (June 12 and 13.) But no sooner did Suwarroff learn his advance, than (emulating the energetic resolution by which Napoleon had overthrown Wurmser on the Adige three years before) he instantly called in all his advanced posts, directed Kray to raise the siege of Mantua, and by the 15th had assembled 30,000 foot and 6000 horse at Garofalo. The armies met on the morning of the 17th, in the plain between the Apennines and the Po, intersected by the classic stream of the Trebbia. The combat of the first day, though severe, was indecisive, and the two hosts bivouacked on the same ground occupied two thousand years before by the Romans and Carthaginians. On the 18th, however, the Russian marshal directed his best troops, under Rosenberg and Bagration, against the division of Victor and the Polez under Dombrowsky, on the French left, thus hoping to cut off the communication between Macdonald and Moreau. The Republicans were driven over the Trebbia; but at night the Russians resumed their former ground, and it was not till the 19th that the sanguinary conflict was decided. On that day Macdonald, assuming the offensive, crossed the Trebbia, and attempted to turn at once both flanks of the

enemy; but the invincible firmness of the Russian infantry sustained the shock, and the scale was turned by a well-timed charge of the reserve under Prince Liechtenstein. The victory in this terrible battle, the most bloody and obstinate since the beginning of the war, remained with the Allies; and Macdonald decamped during the night, having lost 12,000 in killed and wounded out of 36,000.

244. The loss of the victors was almost equally severe; but they pressed with unabated vigour the disastrous retreat of the French over the Apennines, inflicting on them a loss in prisoners nearly equal to that sustained in the battle. The pursuit of Suwarroff was, however, checked by news of the advance of Moreau, who had inflicted a severe defeat on Bellegarde, near Alessandria; but who retreated to his former position on learning the fall of the citadel of Turin, (June 20,) and the approach of the victorious Suwarroff. Macdonald, meanwhile, gained Genoa, (July 17,) after a long and painful circuit, with his shattered forces in the most deplorable condition; and Joubert soon after arrived to take the command of both armies. At length Mantua, after a pertinacious defence against Kray, was compelled to surrender on 30th July; the citadel of Alessandria had already (July 21) yielded to Bellegarde, and Tortoni and Coni were invested. But in the mean time the French force at Genoa had been raised to 48,000 men, including 3000 horse, by the arrival of the army of Naples, (July 29,) and Joubert instantly advanced to relieve the beleaguered fortresses. He had not, however, learned the fall of Mantua, and was unprepared for the superiority of force which the consequent junction of Kray's corps had given the main army of the Allies, whose numbers exceeded the French by 15,000, when the two hosts came in contact near Novi on the evening of 14th August. At five on the following morning, the French position was assaulted at all points; the Republicans, taken by surprise among the vineyards and ravines at the foot of the Apennines, were thrown into disorder; and Joubert himself was killed while gallantly striving to re-form his broken battalions. But the arrival of Moreau restored the battle; the

Imperialists were again driven down the slopes ; and the firm array of the Republicans, though pressed during the whole day by combined and furious charges, remained unbroken at four P.M. The resolution of Suwarroff was still unshaken ; and a fresh attack by Melas, who had just come up with his division, having at length succeeded in turning the French right, Moreau was compelled to order a general retreat, which was soon converted into a rout. The whole army disbanded and fled in confusion : Colli, with his entire brigade, was made prisoner, Grouchy and Perignon were wounded and taken, and the total loss amounted to 7000 killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, and 37 pieces of cannon. Moreau regained his former position in the defiles of the Apennines, and Tortona immediately surrendered to the Allies.

245 Switzerland in the mean time had become the theatre of even more important events. Since the capture of Zurich, the Archduke had been watching the Republicans on the Limmat, and expecting the arrival of Korsakoff ; but the Aulic Council, with unaccountable infatuation, ordered him at this important juncture to repair with the bulk of his army to the Rhine, leaving Switzerland to Korsakoff and the Russians. Before these injudicious orders, however, could be carried into effect, Massena had boldly assumed the offensive (Aug. 14) by a false attack on Zurich, intended to mask the operations of his right wing, which meanwhile, under Lecourbe, was directed against the St Gotthard, in order to cut off the communication between the Allied forces in Switzerland and in Italy. These attacks proved completely successful. The Imperialists were driven by Lecourbe and Oudinot from Schwytz, and afterwards from Altdorf, up the valley of the Reuss ; and Colonel Strauch having quitted the important ridges of the Grimsel and the Furca to repel the advance of General Thurreau in the Valais, they were seized during his absence by General Gudin, while Lecourbe, pursuing his career of victory on the Reuss, repaired the chasm of the Devil's Bridge in the pass of Schollenen, which had been blown up by the retreating Austrians, (Aug. 15.) The Imperialists, now finding

their flank menaced by Gudin from Urseren, fell back to the Crispalt, near the source of the Rhine, where they were assailed (Aug. 16) and repulsed with loss to Ullantz; a French detachment at the same time seizing the St Gothard, and establishing itself at Airolo, on the southern declivity. Decourbe's left had meanwhile cleared the banks of the lake of Zurich of the enemy, who were driven back into Glarus.

246. To obtain these brilliant successes on the right, Massena had been obliged to weaken his left wing; and the Archduke, now reinforced by 20,000 Russians, attempted to avail himself of this circumstance to force the passage of the Limmat below Zurich, (Aug. 16 and 17;) but this enterprise, the success of which might have altered the fate of the war, failed from the defective construction of the pontoons; and the positive orders of the Aulic Council forbade his remaining longer in Switzerland. Accordingly, leaving 25,000 men under Hotze to support Korsakoff, he marched for the Upper Rhine, where the French, at his approach, abandoned the siege of Philippsburg, and retired to Mannheim; but this important post, the defences of which were imperfectly restored, was carried by a *coup-de-main*, (Sept. 18.) and the French driven with severe loss over the Rhine.

247. But this success was dearly bought by the disasters in Switzerland, which followed the Archduke's departure. It had been arranged that Suwarroff was to move from Bellinzona, (Sept. 21,) and after retaking the St Gothard, combine with Korsakoff in a front attack on Massena, while Hotze assailed him in flank. But Massena, who was now the superior in numbers, determined to anticipate the arrival of Suwarroff by striking a blow, for which the presumptuous confidence of Korsakoff gave him increased facility. On the evening of 24th September, the passage of the river was surprised below Zurich, and the heights of Closter-Faur carried by storm; and, in the course of the next day, Korsakoff, with his main army, was completely hemmed in at Zurich by the superior generalship of the French commander, who summoned the Russians to surrender. But the bravery shown by Korsakoff in these desperate circumstances

equalled his former arrogance: on the 28th, the Russian columns, issuing from the town, forced their way with the courage of despair through the surrounding masses of French, while a slender rear-guard defended the ramparts of Zurich till the remainder had extricated themselves. The town was at length entered, and a frightful carnage ensued in the streets, in the midst of which the illustrious Lavater was barbarously shot by a French soldier: while Korsakoff, after losing 8000 killed and wounded, 5000 prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, and all his ammunition, stores, and military chest, succeeded in reaching Schaffhausen. The attack of Soult above the lake (Sept. 25) was equally triumphant. The gallant Hotze, who commanded in that quarter, was killed in the first encounter; and the Austrians, giving way in consternation, were driven over the Thiers, and at length over the Rhine, with the loss of 20 guns and 3000 prisoners.

245. Suwarroff in the mean time was gallantly performing his part of the plan. On the 23d of September, the French posts at Airolo and St Gothard were carried, after a desperate resistance, by the Russian main force, while their flank was turned by Rosenberg; and Lecourbe, hastily retreating, broke down the Devil's Bridge to check the advance of the enemy. A scene of useless butchery followed, the two parties firing on each other from the opposite brinks of the impassable abyss; but the flank of the French was at length turned, the bridge repaired, and the Russians, pressing on in triumph, joined the Austrian corps of Auffenberg, at Wäsen, and repulsed the French beyond Altdorf. But this was the limit of the old marshal's success. After effecting with severe loss the passage of the tremendous defiles and ridges of the Schachenthal, between Altdorf and Mutton, he found that Linken and Jellachich, who were to have moved from Coire to co-operate with him, had again retreated on learning the disaster at Zurich; and Suwarroff found himself in the midst of the enemy, with Massena on one side and Molitor on the other. With the utmost difficulty the veteran conqueror was prevailed upon, for the first time in his life, to order a

retreat, which had become indispensable, and the heads of his columns were turned towards Glarus and the Grisons. But though the attack of Massena on their rear in the Muttenthal was repulsed with the loss of 2000 men, their onward route was barred at Næfels by Molitor, who defied all the efforts of Prince Bagrathion to dislodge him; and in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which obliterated the mountain paths, the Russian army wound its way (Oct. 5) in single file over the rugged and sterile peaks of the Alps of Glarus. Numbers perished of cold, or fell over the precipices; but nothing could overcome the unconquerable spirit of the soldiers. without fire or stores, and compelled to bivouac on the snow, they still struggled on through incredible hardships, till the dreadful march terminated (Oct. 10) at Itantz. Such was the famous passage of the Alps by Suwarroff. Korsakoff in the meanwhile (Oct. 1-7) had maintained a desperate conflict near Constance, till the return of the Archduke checked the efforts of the French; and the Allies, abandoning the St Gothard, and all the other posts they still held in Switzerland, concentrated their forces on the Rhine, which became the boundary of the two armies.

219. While these desperate conflicts were in progress in Southern Europe, Britain was preparing, in conjunction with Russia, an expedition against Holland, on a scale more commensurate with her power than any which she had yet sent forth. The Directory were alarmed by the reports of the vast naval preparations in the British harbours; but they could spare no soldiers to reinforce Brune, who had only 15,000 French and 20,000 Dutch troops. On the 28th of August the first British division, 17,000 strong, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, effected its landing at the Helder, in the face of the Batavians under Daendels; and the fleet under Admiral Story at the Texel, consisting of eight ships of the line and numerous frigates and smaller vessels, surrendered without firing a shot. An attempt of a greatly superior French force under Vandamme (Sept. 10) to dislodge the British from their positions, was repulsed with considerable slaughter; and between the 12th and 15th, the invaders were

raised to 35,000 by the arrival of 17,000 Russians and 12,000 British,—the Duke of York taking the chief command. The Allies now advanced from the Helder, and an obstinate engagement ensued (Sept. 10) in front of Alkmaar: the British were victorious on the centre and left; but this advantage was neutralised by the rout of the Russians on the right, and both armies reoccupied their former lines. The attack was renewed, however, on the arrival of reinforcements, (Oct. 2,) when Brune was routed and driven from the lines of Alkmaar; but a second well-contested action, (Oct. 6,) though the barren honours of the field remained with the Allies, failed in its intended object of giving them possession of Haarlem as a central point whence to maintain their footing in the country. Their situation, notwithstanding their successes, was now becoming highly precarious, from the inclemency of the season, the increasing sickness of the troops, and the want of supplies. They were compelled to fall back on their former positions, closely pursued by Brune, till (Oct. 8) the Duke of York, finding that only eleven days' provision remained for the troops, whose number was reduced to 20,000 effective men, entered into a convention with the French commander for the evacuation of Holland, which was carried into effect before the end of November.

250. In Italy, after the disastrous battle of Novi, the Directory had given the leadership of the armies, both of Italy and Savoy, to the gallant Championnet; but he could muster only 34,000 troops and 6000 raw conscripts to oppose Melas, who had succeeded Suwarroff in the command, and who had 68,000, besides his garrisons and detachments. The proposition of Championnet had been to fall back, with his army still entire, to the other side of the Alps: but his orders were positive to attempt the relief of Coni, then besieged by the Austrians; and after a desultory warfare for several weeks, he commenced a decisive movement for that purpose at the end of October, with 35,000 men. But before the different French columns could effect a junction, they were separately assailed by Melas: the divisions of Grenier and Victor were overwhelmed at Genola, (Nov. 4,) and defeated with the

loss of 7000 men ; and though St Cyr repulsed the Imperialists (Nov. 10) on the plateau of Novi, Coni was left to its fate, and surrendered with all its garrison, (Dec. 4.) An epidemic disorder broke out in the French army, to which Championnet himself, and numerous soldiers, fell victims : the troops, giving way to despair, abandoned their standards by hundreds, and returned to France ; and it was with difficulty that the eloquent exhortations of St Cyr succeeded in keeping together a sufficient number to defend the Bochetta pass, in front of Genoa, the loss of which would have entailed destruction on the whole army. • The discomfited Republicans were driven back on their own frontiers ; and, excepting Genoa, the tricolor flag was everywhere expelled from Italy.

251. At the same time the campaign on the Rhine was drawing to a close. The army of Massena was not strong enough to follow up the brilliant success at Zurich, and the jealousies of the Austrians and Russians, who mutually laid on each other the blame of the late disasters, prevented their acting cordially in concert against him. Suwarroff at length, in a fit of exasperation, drew off his troops to winter quarters in Bavaria, and took no further share in the war ; and a fruitless attempt in November against Philipsburg, by Lecourbe, who had been transferred to the command on the Lower Rhine, closed the operations in that quarter.

VIII. *Internal state of France—the Directory—return of Buonaparte from Egypt—he is elected First Consul.*

252. Meanwhile, in France, the illusions of republicanism had passed away ; the rapid vicissitudes had overturned the previous ideas of all men, while the rule of the middle classes and of the mob had come and vanished like sanguinary but fleeting visions. Society emerged weakened and disjointed from the chaos ; and all classes, despairing of any real amelioration, rushed headlong into the luxuries of private life. Female influence resumed its previous ascendancy, and society its wonted order ; and never

were manners more corrupt, or festivities more prodigal, than under the Directory. The transition was easy from democratic extravagance to sensuality: and the passions, unrestrained by any religious belief, were indulged without control.

253. The elections of the third part of the deputies who were to be newly chosen, (p. 95,) ended mostly in the return of men of moderate principles; but their influence was inconsiderable compared with that exercised by the remaining members of the old Assembly. Two hundred and fifty of their number were chosen by ballot to form the Council of Ancients; and the choice of Directors, after some hesitation, fell on Barras, Rewbell, Lareveillère-Lepaux, Letourneur, and Carnot. Of these, Barras was evidently the one most qualified to take the lead, from the audacity and decision which he had often shown, and particularly on the late revolt of the Sections; but his indolent and voluptuous, though haughty temperament, fitted him rather to command in perilous emergencies than to conduct the ordinary routine of business. Rewbell, on the contrary, though devoid of distinguished talent or eloquence, was useful from his habits of business and knowledge of forms. Lareveillère-Lepaux, a sincere Republican and Girondist, was of a mild and gentle disposition, with no marked characteristic but fanaticism in the cause of natural religion against Christianity; and Letourneur was an old officer of artillery. It was on the genius of Carnot alone that the administration depended for its general efficiency.

254. Among the innumerable difficulties which beset the Directors on their accession to power, the most pressing was that of the assignats, which had fallen at length to one-thousandth part of their nominal value. To conceal and check this enormous depreciation, a new paper-money was issued, called *territorial mandates*, intended to withdraw the assignats at the rate of thirty to one; and this expedient, as the holder was entitled to exchange his paper, by a summary process, for the land on which it was secured, met with transient success. But it was impossible to sustain at par a paper-money which was worth nothing in foreign states: the *mandates* speedily shared the fate of the

assignats; and though the gold and silver which began to pour in from foreign conquest supplied in some measure the general want of a circulating medium, the landholders and public officers, who were still paid in mandates, were reduced almost to starvation. The armies in the interior were not less deplorably situated; the roads were covered with troops of brigands, formed of deserters, whom hunger had driven from their standards; and the general distress was turned to account by foreign speculators, whose command of metallic treasure enabled them to buy up the most costly effects at incredibly inadequate prices.

255. The crisis at length arrived. On the 16th July 1796, the national bankruptcy was in effect proclaimed, by a decree which authorised all persons to transact business in whatever money they chose, and reduced the mandates to their current value. Thus ended, after six years, the system of fictitious paper credit, which on the one hand had ruined the public creditors, and all those formerly opulent; and, on the other, had virtually annulled all debts by the elusory form in which payment might be made, and had enabled the holders of government paper to purchase the national domains for almost nothing. Such a revolution in individual fortunes had never before been effected. The Directory was now compelled to adapt the expenditure as far as possible to the real revenue, which was calculated at £50,000,000 for 1796: but it fell short of this sum, while the outlay far exceeded the estimates. The income of 1797 was only £27,000,000; and after the trial and failure of various temporary schemes, the bankruptcy of the nation was avowed; and two-thirds of the public burdens summarily extinguished, (Aug. 18, 1797) by conversion into valueless bills, which obtained scarcely even a momentary currency.

256. The attempts of the Directors, during the first year, to restore order to the chaos of society, were eminently successful. The odious law of the maximum was repealed; the press was again free; the metallic currency restored: and the internal police of the country restored to its former security. But religion still remained prostrate; the churches were closed, and the sacra-

ments unknown. A generation grew up, ignorant of the first elements of the faith of their fathers; and a chasm was thus made in the social institutions of France, which nothing has subsequently been able to repair. Lareveillère-Lepaux attempted to establish a system of Theophilanthropy, with temples, and a sort of liturgy; but this and similar attempts to supersede Revelation wholly failed.

257. But this repose was not destined long to endure; and it was by the Jacobins that it was first disturbed. This desperate faction had formed a new club at the Pantheon, headed by an outrageous democrat, calling himself *Gracchus* Babœuff; but their violent declamations attracted the notice of government, and the club was forcibly closed. Thus thwarted, the Jacobins adopted more covert measures. By means of secret committees, they attempted to tamper with the troops in the camp at Grenelle, and to organise a revolt for 21st May, when the Directors were to have been murdered, and the Reign of Terror revived in even more than its former horror. But the troops refused to join the insurgents; Babœuff and Darthé, his principal follower, were tried, and after attempting suicide on condemnation, were executed; thirty-one of the inferior agents were shot by a military commission, and the conspiracy was totally crushed.

258. The terror excited in the public mind by these efforts of the Jacobins roused anew the hopes of the royalists, who strove to guide the reaction in favour of their own views. Their first attempts proved abortive; but in the elections of 1797, when one-third of the members of the two councils were changed, they obtained so decided a superiority, as to give them a great majority both in the Five Hundred and the Ancients. Pichegru and Barbe-Marbois, both royalists, became presidents of the councils; and when Letourneur retired in rotation from the Directory, he was succeeded by Barthélémy, an anti-republican. The periodical press fell almost entirely into the hands of the royalists, whose movements were directed by the Club of Ghent, while the rendezvous of the opposite party was the Club of Salm. Even Carnot, the most sincere of republicans, was known to

be disposed to royalism, from his aversion to the late scenes of violence; and so strong was the retrograde torrent, that the laws against priests and emigrants were repealed, and an attempt of the Directors to control the royalist press was negatived by the Council of Ancients. It was ascertained that the next election would almost wholly extinguish the revolutionary party; and the Ancients had already resolved to transfer the legislature to Rouen, near those western provinces which had always been the stronghold of the Bourbonists. But the army was still strongly republican; and Barras, Rowbell, and Lareveillère-Lepaux, who saw the scaffold before them as regicides in the event of a restoration, resolved on decisive measures.

259. The co-operation of the military chiefs, Hoche and Buonaparte, had been secured by Barras: the latter sent Lavalette and Augereau to Paris to support the government, and addressed to the army of Italy (July 14) a proclamation breathing the strongest republican sentiments, which were vehemently responded to by the soldiery.

260. Thus powerfully seconded, the Directors proceeded to act vigorously: the ministers, who were all suspected of royalism, were replaced by a fresh cabinet, including Talleyrand and Hoche; and 12,000 men from the army of the latter were quartered round Paris, in violation of the new constitution, which forbade troops to be brought within twelve leagues of the legislature. The opposite party foresaw the impending shock, but they were strong only in numbers and eloquence, and had little military force at their disposal. On the night of the 17th Fructidor, (Sept. 3,) the troops commanded by Augereau entered the city and surrounded the Tuileries; the guards of the councils, in spite of the exhortations of their commandant Ramel, refused to act against their fellow-soldiers; and by six o'clock next morning, Pichegru, Barthelemy, Camille-Jourdan, Troncon-Ducoudray, Boissay-d'Anglas, and several hundreds of their party, were in prison, —Carnot alone escaping to Geneva.

261. The use made by the three Directors of their victory was as tyrannical as the means by which it was gained were uncon-

stitutional. Acting under their orders, the remnant of the two councils condemned fifteen of their most illustrious captives, including Pichegru and Bartholemy, to transportation to Guiana, a sentence worse than death itself: several hundreds of priests who had recently returned to France, were subjected to the same punishment. Pichegru, with a few companions, escaped soon after his arrival: of the remainder, only eight priests, with two of the political delinquents, survived the pestilential climate for two years, when they were recalled on the accession of Buonaparte. The triumphant faction in France meanwhile proceeded in their career of despotism: the freedom of the press and trial by jury were abolished; the revolutionary laws against the priests, emigrants, and nobles, were re-enacted in their cruel rigour, and the terrors of Jacobin rule appeared on the point of revival. The judges and authorities throughout the departments were arbitrarily changed; and the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, concerted with the leaders of the army, and carried into effect by military force, is the true era of the commencement of military despotism in France. The springs of the movement were throughout directed by Buonaparte; and though he strongly disapproved of the abuse of their triumph by the revolutionary leaders, he did not the less clearly perceive, in its inevitable results, the furtherance of the projects of his own ambition.

262. But on the removal of the armies to the frontier, on the resumption of hostilities in 1799, the public voice could no longer be stifled; and the embarrassment of the finances, with the disasters at the opening of the campaign, blew the discontent into a flame. The new elections of a third part of the legislature (March) returned representatives mostly adverse to the government established by the bayonets of Angereau; and complaints arose in all quarters, the first result of which was the restoration of the liberty of the press. Rewbell had retired in rotation from the Directory, and had been succeeded by Siéyes, who soon entered into a league with his colleague Barras, and the generals Joubert and Angereau for a change in the government, and the overthrow of the three other Directors, Larveillere-Lepaux, Treil-

hard, and Merlin. The conspiracy was supported by a great majority in both councils; and matters were soon brought to a crisis by the committees of war, expenditure, and finance, which insisted on information relative to the disorders in their respective departments. Treilhard at length yielded to the storm, and retired from office; Lareveillère-Lepaux and Merlin, after an obstinate resistance, were compelled to follow his example—Gohier, Moutins, and Roger Ducos, being appointed their successors. This was called the revolution of the 30th Prairial, (May 25.)

263. The new Directors, however, were no better qualified than their predecessors to meet the shocks which assailed the state both without and within. Scarcely were they installed in office when dismay was spread by the forcing of the lines of Zurich, and the defeat at the Trebbia; and the Jacobins, availing themselves of the general panic, once more emerged from their lurking-places, reopened their clubs, and recommenced their harangues. To supply the immediate exigencies of the state, it was found necessary to levy forced loans, and to put in exercise the powers of the conscription; but the authority of government was almost paralysed in the provinces, and the Vendéans and Chouans were again in arms and triumphant under Chatillon and Bourmont, the future conqueror of Algiers. A barbarous enactment, called the Law of Hostages, by which the relations of emigrants were made responsible for all disorders committed in their native districts, totally failed in its intended effect; the forced loan was slowly and sparingly collected; and the Jacobins declaimed with increased fury in favour of an agrarian law, which had been the favourite idea of Babeuf. In this extreme peril, the nomination of the celebrated Fouché as minister of police produced important results. An old Jacobin, a regicide, and atheist, a principal in the massacres at Lyons, he at once perceived that the ascendant of his old associates was irrecoverably on the wane, and accordingly addressed himself without scruple to their subversion. On the 12th of August the Jacobin Club was again and for ever closed; and the furious attacks which this bold measure drew on the government were num-

marily crushed by the suppression of eleven journals. Still the conviction forced itself on all minds, that the sinking fortunes of the Republic could be saved from utter ruin only by the appearance of some military chief of commanding talents at the helm: "What we want," said Sièyes, "is a head and a sword." At this crisis of public opinion, it was announced that Napoleon Buonaparte, the victor of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, had landed (Oct. 5) at Fréjus.

264. The progress of the conqueror of Egypt, from Fréjus to Paris, was one continual triumph. All day the people flocked in crowds to see the hero who was to save the Republic; and his course at night was marked by bonfires on the hills. On 16th October he arrived at Paris, and on the following day was presented in state to the Directory. Splendid encomiums were pronounced on his victories, but mutual distrust was visible throughout the interview. So general, indeed, had the conviction become of the impossibility of longer maintaining the republican form of government, that intrigues were far advanced for restoring monarchy, in which Sièyes, Barras, and even Buonaparte's brothers, were deeply implicated. Buonaparte, however, though convinced that the moment had arrived for seizing supreme power, had as yet no fixed plan of operations; and his conduct at this critical juncture is a memorable instance of his profound knowledge of human nature. Though his saloon was constantly crowded with generals and men of distinction, he avoided showing himself in public, wore only the costume of the Institute, and invited none but scientific men to his dinners in the Rue Chantereine. But under this unobtrusive bearing, his ambitious designs were actively forwarded. Most of the military chiefs were already gained to his views; though Moreau was for some time reluctant, and the republicanism of Bernadotte proved invincible either by arguments or promises. Sièyes, Talleyrand, and Fouché were also more or less favourable; but Gohier and Moulins refused their assent. Barras in vain endeavoured to sound his intentions; and it was between Sièyes and Buonaparte himself, after a banquet at the Council of

Ancients, (Nov. 6.) that the details of the conspiracy were finally arranged.

265. The chiefs of the different parties, meanwhile, were amused with the declarations most acceptable to each; and on the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 8) the first impulse was to be given. On that day the officers of the garrison and of the national guard were to be presented to him by previous appointment; and three regiments of cavalry, which had requested him to review them, were desired to be in readiness. The Council of Ancients, meanwhile, passed a decree for transferring the legislature to St Cloud, the execution of which was intrusted to Buonaparte; and the assembled officers, filled with enthusiasm, unanimously promised him their support. Attended by this splendid staff, he presented himself at the bar of the Ancients, whom he addressed in these words:—"Citizen-representatives, the Republic was about to perish, when you, the collected wisdom of the nation, saved it. I come, with all the generals, to offer you our support. *We are resolved to have a republic*: I swear it in my own name, and in that of my companions in arms." The Assembly broke up, and Buonaparte proceeded to pass in review the regiments of the garrison.

266. The decree of the Ancients, meanwhile, was received with violent agitation by the Five Hundred, by whom it was wholly unexpected; and Lucien Buonaparte, their president, had difficulty in restraining their indignation. Meanwhile the Directory was dissolved. Sièyes and Ducos, who were in the secret, resigned; Barras was disposed of without much difficulty; and Gohier and Moulins, who remained firm, were put under arrest by Moreau. Fouché, Cambacérès, and all the public authorities, joined the movement; and before night the government was annihilated.

267. On the following morning (Nov. 9. Brumaire 18) 6000 troops surrounded St Cloud; and the legislature was now to deliberate, not under the pikes of the mob, but the bayonets of the soldiery. The Five Hundred, however, manifested so violent a spirit of opposition, that the minority of the Ancients resumed courage

to protest against the impending change ; and even the troops, attached as they were to Napoleon, hesitated to act against the legislature. The peril of Buonaparte was extreme ; and he resolved to present himself with his staff at the bar of the Ancients : but his agitation rendered his address almost unintelligible, and his appeal to the soldiers roused the opposition to fury. A democrat named Linglet, called on him to swear to the constitution ; but Buonaparte, regaining his energy, denounced the repeated violations of the constitution of which the Directors had been guilty, and concluded by threatening the vengeance of his followers against any one who should dare to propose putting him *hors la loi*. It was a proposition of this kind which had proved fatal to Robespierre ; and the Five Hundred, who had assembled in the Orangery while the scene in the Ancients was in progress, were already on the point of forcing Lucien to put the question of outlawry to the vote.

208. No time was to be lost in averting this danger ; and Buonaparte hastened to the hall of the Five Hundred, which he entered alone, leaving his military attendants at the door. But he was instantly surrounded by a furious crowd, exclaiming " Death to the dictator ! no Cromwell ! " and the soldiers, alarmed at the danger of their general, rushed forwards and tore him from the hall. Lucien, left unsupported in the president's chair, in vain endeavoured to allay the tempest, and defend his brother, till he was removed by another party of soldiers. Buonaparte had now mounted on horseback, and was haranguing the troops in the court, when Lucien, arriving to his support, exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, " Citizen-Soldiers ! the President of the Council of Five Hundred declares to you, that that body is enthralled by a factious band armed with dagger, who interdict all freedom of deliberation. Let force expel those who remain in the Orangery : they are representatives, not of the people, but of the poniard." A battalion, headed by Murat and Leclerc, accordingly entered the council ; the voices of Jourdan and other deputies, who attempted to remonstrate, were drowned by the roll of the drums ; and the members, seeing the bayonet at their breasts, escaped

ismy through the windows and every exit which presented

269. The Ancients were thunderstruck at hearing that actual force had been employed to dissolve the Five Hundred ; but they had no other alternative than to receive the explanations tendered by Lucien. The same night about sixty members of the two councils assembled, and passed a decree abolishing the Directory, adjourning the councils for three months, and vesting the authority meanwhile in three provisional consuls—Buonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos. All ranks of the people, worn out with past convulsions, felt that repose could be obtained only under the shadow of military authority, and joyfully acquiesced in the change: the nation was as unanimous in 1799 to terminate the era of revolution as in 1789 it had been to commence it. The universal satisfaction was augmented by the clemency with which Buonaparte used his victory. Excesses and few arrests followed the triumph of order over anarchy ; on the contrary, the law of the hostages, and the forced loan, were abolished ; the priests and others proscribed on the 18th Fructidor were allowed to return, and liberty was restored to no fewer than 9000 state prisoners. Thirty-seven only of the more violent Jacobins and Republicans were ordered to be transported to Guiana : but even this sentence was never put in execution.

270. The new constitution yet remained to be fixed ; and on this point Sieyès and Buonaparte were at variance. The former wished to vest the executive in a Grand Elector, who was to be irresponsible, but to exercise no immediate power except that of naming two consuls of the exterior and interior, who were to wield the actual powers of government. The practical absurdity of this plan was obvious to every one ; and it was decidedly negatived by Buonaparte, who clearly saw the necessity of monarchical rule for France ; but in order to disguise this fact, and soothe the republican jealousy, it was at last agreed that there should be three consuls, of whom one alone should possess real authority, the other two being only his advisers. Government alone had the right of proposing laws ; and the legislature consisted of—

1. A Conservative Senate, nominated by the consuls, and of which the members held their places for life ; 2. A Tribunal, which was to dissensthe legislative measures with the Council of State, and which comprised one hundred members ; and, 3. A Legislative Body of three hundred, without the power of debate. The members of these bodies were to be taken from a list called the Notables of France, chosen by an election of one-tenth from among the Notables of the departments, who again were one-tenth among the notables of the communes ; and it was only in the elections of these last that the citizens at large were now to be allowed a voice. The notables of France, under this system, amounted to no more than 6000 persons, and from them all the offices of state were to be filled ; while the influence of the people was in effect, by the process of triple election, completely destroyed. All the members of the legislature received pensions from the state,—the senators, £1000 a-year, the tribunes £650, and the members of the legislative body £400 a-year.

271. On the 24th of December the constitution was proclaimed ; and, though destroying all the objects for which the people had combated during ten years, was gladly adopted by the immense majority of the nation, who hailed in it the termination of revolutionary convulsion. The appointments were at once filled up without waiting for the lists of notables, from which, according to theory, they were to have been selected. Siéyes and Ducos withdrew from the consulate, and their places were filled by Cambacérès and Lebrun, men of moderation and probity, and well fitted for their functions ; Talleyrand became minister of foreign affairs, and Fouché of police. Thus ended the changes of the French Revolution, in the establishment, by universal consent, of a government which swept away every remnant of freedom, and consigned the state to the tranquillity of military despotism.

PART IV.

FROM BUONAPARTE'S ELECTION TO THE CONSULATE TO HIS
ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN.—1799–1804.

I. Measures of France and Britain.

272. The first step of Buonaparte, on mounting the consular throne, was to propose peace to England, through a letter addressed directly to the King, (Dec. 25 ;) but his overtures were deemed inadmissible, and the negotiation came to nothing. Buonaparte, as he afterwards admitted, had no serious intention at this time of concluding peace: for, he was well aware that his power depended on his glory, and his glory on his victories; and that it was only by the splendour of fresh military triumphs that he could hope to render it permanent.

273. The British government, finding the continuance of the war inevitable, took the most vigorous measures for its prosecution. The state of public credit, as exhibited in the budget, was in the highest degree favourable. The boundless wealth of Great Britain was proved by a loan of £18,500,000 being obtained, in the eighth year of the war, at 4½ per cent; but both the financier and the public overlooked the grievous burden ultimately destined to result by borrowing in the three per cents, in which an obligation of £100 was incurred for every £60 advanced. Since the great financial crisis and limitation of cash payments in 1797, British prosperity had steadily and rapidly increased; the stimulus given to national industry by the vast government expenditure, arising from the war, had occasioned a general rise both in prices and incomes, which was not affected to any considerable extent even by the severe scarcity of provisions which followed the bad harvest of 1799. The armaments for the year amounted to 168,000 regular troops, and 80,000 militia; 510 ships of war, including 124 of the line, were in commission, and 120,000 seamen

and marines voted for the sea-service. Since the beginning of the war (as appeared from parliamentary returns) only 208,000 men had been raised for the troops of the line—a number which might easily have been levied in a single year from the population; and which, if ably conducted and thrown into the scale against France, would certainly have terminated the war. A subsidy of £2,500,000 was likewise voted to Austria, who, as the secession of Russia from the league against France was soon unequivocal, was making great efforts to bear the brunt of the contest alone.

274. The session was signalised by several domestic measures of importance—the renewal of the Bank Charter for twenty-one years, in consideration of which a loan of £3,000,000, without interest, was advanced by the Directors—the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act—the Indian budget of Mr. Dundas—and, lastly, the memorable union of Ireland with Great Britain. The debates on this great question, though highly important in British, are not of sufficient moment for quotation in European history: it will here be sufficient to state the principal articles of the Treaty of Union. Twenty-eight temporal and 4 spiritual peers, with 100 commoners, were sent by Ireland to the imperial parliament; the churches of England and Ireland were united; commercial privileges fairly communicated; and the general expenditure ordered to be defrayed, for twenty years after the union, in the proportion of twenty for Great Britain and two for Ireland. It was not without most violent opposition, however, that this great measure was carried in the Irish parliament; in the British the majority in the Commons was 208 to 26, and in the Lords 75 to 7.

275. Meanwhile Franco had exhausted both her own resources and those of the affiliated republics on her frontier, by forced loans and requisitions of all sorts; public credit was utterly exhausted, and there was a deficit of £31,000,000 in the revenue of the preceding year. But the establishment of the firm and vigorous government of the First Consul arrested these disorders as if by enchantment. The capitalists again came forward with

advances; the unsold national domains began to find purchasers from the increasing confidence in government; and even a tax of twenty-five per cent on real property, which was substituted for the forced loans, however intolerable it would have been under ordinary circumstances, now gave general satisfaction.

276. The pacification of la Vendée was the next object; and the rapidity with which it was effected, proves how much the long duration of its troubles had been owing to republican cruelty. The insurgent leaders soon became convinced that they had now a different person to deal with, both in the field and the cabinet, from the weak and tyrannical Directors; and negotiations were speedily opened. Chatillon and d'Antichamps first submitted; Suzannet and the Abbé Bernier (afterwards made Bishop of Orleans by Buonaparte) followed their example. Count Louis de Frotte alone was executed, under circumstances of great perfidy; but both in la Vendée and Brittany the chiefs gradually came in; and, on 28th February 1801, the complete pacification of the country was announced by the publication of a general and unqualified amnesty.

277. The measures of Buonaparte were next directed to detach Russia from the alliance against France—an attempt facilitated by her maritime jealousy of Britain, and by the exasperation of Paul and his generals at the result of the recent campaign. By releasing the Russian prisoners in his hands, and other adroit acts of courtesy, he so completely succeeded, that the British ambassador was dismissed from St Petersburg, and Baron Springborton appeared at the Tuileries as envoy from Russia. The military measures of the First Consul (on the refusal of Great Britain to treat) were equally energetic. By one of his spirit-stirring proclamations, he gave an almost magical impulse to the declining military ardour of the nation. 120,000 men were raised by the conscription; the veterans hastened to join the standard of their old leader; and the stores and equipments were repaired with almost incredible celerity. But it was not to such objects alone that his energies were directed. The liberty of the press was virtually extinguished by a decree (Dec. 24, 1799)

which placed all the Parisian journals under the surveillance of the minister of police; and the organisation of a secret police, independent of the public one under Fouché, commenced that wretched system of espionage which has hitherto been continued in France. In all these changes, the object constantly in view was the obliteration of republican ideas. The Greek and Roman costumes in vogue were replaced by the military uniform; and the official residence of the consuls was fixed at the Tuileries, upon which they entered, (Feb. 19, 1800,) after a grand procession, in which the splendour of the troops afforded a painful contrast to the mean appearance of the civil authorities. The ceremonial of a court was resumed at the levees of the First Consul, over which Josephine presided with the grace and dignity of one born to be a queen. The death of Washington, at the same time, was announced to the army in an eulogistic order of the day, directing all the banners to be enveloped for ten days in black crape, "in memory of a great man who had struggled with tyranny, and consolidated the liberty of his country."

278. Though he did not yet openly break with the Republicans, he lost no opportunity of showing his estimation of them. Carnot, Barthelemy, and other eminent persons exiled by the Directory, were recalled and invested with situations of trust; and Target, who had refused the office of advocate of Louis XVI., was superseded in the office of President of the Court of Cassation by Tronchet, who had accepted and nobly discharged this perilous duty. The fête of the murder of Louis was at the same time suppressed; and the Revolutionary calendar, with its decades, gradually disused. These systems of a return to the old order of things raised high the hopes of the Bourbons; and Louis XVIII. wrote several letters to Buonaparte, in the expectation of enlisting him in his cause. But Buonaparte, though he replied in courteous terms, saw clearly the impossibility of securing the new interests and vested rights which had arisen against the return of the deprived family and their adherents, and positively declined to have any connection with the exiled dynasty.

II. Campaign in Germany and Italy—Armistices of Parsdorf and Alessandria.

279. In forming their plans for the campaign of 1800, the Austrians erroneously supposed that Italy was the decisive quarter; and in calculating the forces likely to be brought against them, they were ignorant or incredulous of the rapid change produced by the seizure of supreme power by the First Consul. Their plan was to assume the offensive in Italy, capture Genoa, and invade Provence; while Buonaparte, on his side, aimed at liberating Italy by striking a blow at the Hereditary States in the heart of Germany. The command of the German army, however, was intrusted to Moreau, while Buonaparte in person was to direct the army of reserve on Italy—an arrangement rendered necessary by the unbounded confidence of the soldiers of the Rhine in their old commander, and by the positive refusal of Moreau to accept a divided command.

280. The Archduke Charles, who had earnestly recommended the Aulic Council to take advantage of their triumphant position to make peace, had been superseded in the command in Germany by General Kray. Headquarters were at Donaueschingen, and he had 110,000 men in all under his orders; but the right and left wings, under Starray and the Prince of Reuss, were too widely separated from the main body—the former reaching to the Maine, the latter in the Tyrol. Moreau's whole force was nearly as numerous, but 28,000 were kept in reserve at Bâle; and the possession of the bridges of Kehl, New Brisach, and Bâle, gave him the means of crossing the Rhine at pleasure. In pursuance of a plan concerted with Buonaparte, he commenced operations (April 25) by directing several divisions across the Rhine at various points, apparently against the Austrian right, while the remainder of his columns were converging towards their magazines at Eugen and Moeskirch. The manœuvre completely succeeded: the Imperial forces were concentrated for the defence of the right, while the corps of the Prince of Lorraine, forming the communication between their centre and left, was

overwhelmed by Molitor, who seized Sigmach with all its stores on the same day (May 2) on which the main body under Moreau gained a victory over Kray before Eugen, after an obstinate battle lasting till late at night. A second engagement at Mönchkirch (May 4) terminated in a drawn battle, the corps of St Cyr not having reached the ground to turn the scale in favour of the French; but the Imperial general continued his retreat over the Danube, so vigorously pursued by the French, that Biberach was carried (May 9) before the magazines could be withdrawn: and two days later, the whole Austrian army, 80,000 foot and 12,000 horse, was concentrated within the intrenched camp of Ulm.

281. The strength and extent of these celebrated lines, (which covered both banks of the Danube,) with the ample munitions stored in them, rendered a blockade impossible; the attempt to pass them, either to the north or south, would have exposed Moreau to a flank attack; while his force was at the same time weakened by the necessity of detaching Monecy with 16,000 men to join the First Consul in Italy. The situation of the French general was therefore extremely perplexing; and six weeks were spent in dislodging the enemy from this stronghold—a striking proof of the prophetic wisdom of the Archduke Charles in its formation. The first attempt (May 16) was defeated with great loss at Erbach, where the Austrian cavalry, under the Archduke Ferdinand, overwhelmed the isolated corps of Ste. Suzanne as it advanced on the left bank of the Danube; and a movement of the French on Augsburg, though they temporarily occupied that city and levied a contribution of £60,000, failed to shake the firmness of Kray, who gained an advantage (June 4) over the French left under Richemont. Moreau's next plan was to pass the Danube below Ulm; and having, by the middle of June, concentrated great part of his army between the Austrians and Bavaria, and entered Augsburg a second time, he succeeded in crossing the river at Blindheim, (19th,) thus cutting off Kray's communications, and inflicted a severe defeat on Star-ray at Hochstedt. Kray, now leaving 10,000 men to garrison Ulm, successfully executed a circuitous forced march, with all his

artillery, round the Republican position, and reached Nordlingen in safety, (23d;) while the French, suddenly changing their route, entered Munich on the 28th, and almost surprised the Elector in his capital. This movement, which Kray arrived too late to impede, cut off the communications between the Austrian main army and the Prince of Reuss in the Tyrol; and Coire, Luciensteg, and Feldkirch were taken by the French corps of Lecourbe: but the truce concluded at Alessandria a month previous was now (July 15) extended to the armies in Germany under the title of the Armistice of Parsdorf, and both parties remained in occupation of their present positions.

282. But even these important events were eclipsed by those passing at the same time in Italy. The army occupying the Maritime Alps had been reduced to the extremity of privation; but it was speedily reinforced and re-equipped, and confidence was restored to the soldiers by the appointment of Massena to the command. The whole force, however, was only 28,000 men, against which 60,000 Austrians were put in motion early in April, directing all their efforts for the reduction of Genoa. This important city had been blockaded since the beginning of March by Lord Keith's fleet; and its position, on the steep declivity where the Apennines descend into the sea, increased the labour of the defence, by making it necessary to include within the fortifications the mountains to some distance in the rear, by which the city and inner works would otherwise be commanded. On the 6th of April, General Melas made an attack in three columns on the French defensive positions, and was completely successful. On the right, Soult was driven from Montenotte, the scene of Buonaparte's first triumph, while on the left, Suchet was entirely cut off from the main body, and thrown back towards France. The Austrian watchfires crowned the heights in all directions round the city; and though they were driven from this vantage-ground (April 7) by a vigorous sortie of Massena, the French general could not succeed, by the most determined efforts, in re-opening his communications with Suchet, and was at length (April 21) compelled to seek shelter within the walls of the city.

1800. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.
Stuher himself had meanwhile (April 20) been utterly defeated by Elnitz at Monte-Gialmo, and driven back towards the Piedmontese frontier; but he was followed up by Melas, (who left Ott with 25,000 men to blockade Genoa,) again routed (May 2) at Borghetto, and driven over the frontier into France. Melas, who was soon after called off to oppose Buonaparte, left Elnitz to act on the line of the Var, where Stuher was posted; but two desperate attempts to storm the *têtes-du-pont* on that river (May 18 and 27) having been defeated, the Austrians quitted the soil of France and marched for Piedmont to rejoin Melas.

283. A succession of desultory but sanguinary conflicts were meanwhile taking place round Genoa, as Ott's force was insufficient for an assault: on one occasion Massena recaptured some of the fortified heights, but in an attempt on the Monte-Creto, (May 13,) the French were routed with great slaughter, and Soult made prisoner. The garrison was now completely shut up within the walls, where they soon began to feel the horrors of famine. The news of Buonaparte's passage of the Alps revived their hopes, but a fresh sortie (May 28) was repulsed with loss, the inhabitants were reduced to feed on skins, and even on the carcasses of those who had perished; and Massena, forced at length to yield to the accumulated horrors of his situation, surrendered (June 5) with 9000 men, the poor remains of his army. His gallantry secured him the most honourable terms of capitulation, which were observed with scrupulous faith by the Austrians and Lord Keith.

284. Meanwhile Buonaparte, aware as well of the difficulties of a front attack on the Imperialists as of the importance of the central position he held in Switzerland, had resolved on crossing the Alps, so as to interpose between the Austrians and their own country, and thus force them to fight with their front towards Lombardy, and their rear shut in by the Mediterranean and the Apennines, where defeat must be ruinous to them, while the French, if unsuccessful, could again retire into Switzerland. The formation of the force destined for this purpose had been carried on with indefatigable activity by Bonaparte since the com-

menacement of the year. Thirty thousand conscripts and 20,000 veterans from la Vendée formed the basis. But it was necessary to conceal the real force and destination of the army, lest the passes of the Great St Bernard should be preoccupied from the valley of Aosta; and, accordingly, Dijon was announced as its headquarters. A few thousand raw troops here collected lulled the suspicions of the Austrian spies, while the real army of reserve was assembled about Lausanne, &c., where Buonaparte reviewed the vanguard, (May 16.) The St Bernard had been reported by Maroscot, chief of the engineers, as "barely passable" for artillery. "It is possible: let us start, then," was the energetic reply of Buonaparte. The troops were forthwith set in motion, and commenced the passage of the mountain, (May 16.)

285. The march occupied four days: but the part which most severely tried the energies of the soldiers was the ascent from St Pierre to the summit of the mountain. The artillery carriages had been taken to pieces and packed on mules, the ammunition was transported in the same manner, and the guns themselves, placed in the trunks of firs hollowed out, were dragged up by main strength, a hundred soldiers being harnessed to each cannon, and relieved by others every half mile. At the hospice on the summit each soldier received refreshment from the hospitality of the monks; the perilous descent from St Remi was soon achieved, and Buonaparte himself, who had remained at the Priory of St Maurice, crossed on the 28th. But the inconsiderable fort of Bard had wellnigh proved an insurmountable obstacle. Placed on a pyramidal rock, midway between the opposing cliffs of the valley of Aosta, it commands not only the road, which runs close to its foot, but almost every practicable mountain path; and Lannes, who was moving down from Châtillon, at the head of the advanced guard, found the passage completely barred by the fire of its artillery. An escalade directed by Buonaparte proved unsuccessful; but the French engineers, wrapping up the wheels of the guns, and spreading straw in the streets, transported the artillery in the night (May 28) under the very ramparts of the unconscious Austrians, while the infantry

and cavalry passed by the mountain tracks. The army was reunited (28th) at Ivrea, which had previously been stormed by Lannes; Moncey, with 16,000 men from the Rhine, had crossed the St. Gothard—other corps descended by Susa and the Simplon; so that 60,000 men, converging from various quarters, were assembled in Piedmont in the rear of the Imperialists.

286. Anxious to renew instantly in Italy the moral impression left by his former glories, Buonaparte advanced rapidly into Lombardy, and overthrowing a weak Austrian corps which attempted to bar his passage of the Ticino, entered Milan in triumph (June 2.) Placentia and Pavia, with all their stores, fell into the hands of the French; the republican authorities were everywhere reinstated; and Buonaparte, in one of his animated proclamations, applauded the zeal and success of his troops. Although his main army was now much weakened by the necessary dispersion of his corps, he still continued his rapid advance, and on 6th June the line of the Po was forced, and the Austrians thereby cut off from Mantua, and their reserves in Eastern Italy. A desperately contested action was fought at Montebello, (June 9,) in which the corps of Ott was driven back with the loss of 4000 men by the heroism of Lannes, and the French occupied a strong position in the pass of Stradella, between the Apennines and the Po.

287. Meanwhile Melas had concentrated his forces at Alessandria to meet the invaders. Though Genoa had fallen, his position was highly critical. The retreat of Elnitz from the Var was so vigorously pressed by Suchet, (who had received considerable reinforcements,) that he lost 8000 out of 17,000 men before reaching Ceva; and Melas, finding his rear thus threatened, while Buonaparte lay in his front, gallantly resolved to cut his way through the main French army towards the eastern provinces of the empire. His detachments were accordingly everywhere called in; Lord Keith was urged to bring over a corps of 12,000 British, who were idle at Minorca; and Buonaparte, having advanced from Stradella, the two armies came into collision (June 16) on the memorable plain of Marengo, intersected by

the stream of the Bormida. The Austrians were about 31,000, including 7500 horse, with 200 pieces of cannon; the French numbered not more than 29,000, of whom only 3600 were cavalry.

288. By daybreak on the 14th, the Austrians passed the Bormida, and Buonaparte, who had not expected to be attacked, was compelled to receive the shock with greatly inferior numbers, as Desaix's division was still at some distance in the rear. After an obstinate conflict of four hours, the numbers and determination of the Austrians prevailed; Marengo was carried, the first line of the Republicans broken, and their whole army compelled to retreat across the open plain to rejoin their reserve. But their columns, closely pressed by the Imperialists, and galled by a tremendous fire, were thrown into disorder; the fatal cry of *Sauve qui peut!* was already heard in their ranks, and Melas, considering the battle gained, and exhausted with fatigue, left the field, intrusting to Zach the completion of the victory. At four o'clock, however, the arrival of Desaix with 4000 men saved the French army from impending ruin, and restored the battle for a time; but that gallant officer soon fell mortally wounded, and the victory was again inclining to the Austrians, when a flank charge by Kellerman with 800 horse decided the fate of the day. The apparition of this mass of cavalry, which had been hidden by some vineyards, struck panic into the Imperialists: their cavalry fled, trampling down the advancing infantry; Zach himself was made prisoner with 2000 men, and the confusion soon became irretrievable. The whole army disbanded and rushed towards the Bormida; and after twelve hours' incessant fighting, was at length with difficulty rallied on the ground it had held in the morning, having lost 7000 killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon.

289. The immediate effect of this victory was an armistice concluded the next day at Alessandria, by which twelve fortresses, including Genoa, Alessandria, Turin, and Coni, were given up to the French, with all their stores and artillery; while, till an answer could be received from Vienna, the Imperialists were to occupy

quarters between the Mincio and the Po, the French lying between the Po, the Chiesa, and the Oglio. The British arrived in the Bay of Genoa just in time to see the city given up to the Republicans; and Buonaparte, having thus in a few weeks completed the reconquest of Piedmont and the Milanese, proceeded to reorganise the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, and soon, after returned, by Mont Cenis and Lyons, to Paris, where he was received with songs of triumph and universal demonstrations of joy.

III. *Campaign of Hohenlinden—Peace of Luneville.*

290. Two days before the battle of Marengo was known at Vienna, a treaty had been signed between Britain and Austria, by which the former power advanced to the latter a loan of £2,000,000, each party agreeing to conclude no separate peace within twelve months. To this treaty, the Imperial ministers, notwithstanding their losses both in Italy and Germany, determined steadfastly to adhere; and though the Count de St Julien, who arrived at Paris as plenipotentiary in the middle of July, had signed preliminaries on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, these articles were not ratified by the cabinet of Vienna, which notified to that of Paris, that it could no longer treat without the concurrence of Great Britain. Buonaparte, bent on saving Malta and Egypt, insisted on a naval armistice, with leave to send six frigates to Egypt, as the only condition on which he would open negotiations with Britain; and on the refusal of this unreasonable and unheard-of proposal, the attempt fell to the ground. The Austrians, thus reduced to extremity, were compelled (Sept. 28) to purchase an extension of the armistice in Germany and Italy by the cession of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg—a sacrifice which the necessity for gaining time rendered inevitable; and both armies availed themselves of the interval to reinforce their armies for the renewal of the struggle. Meanwhile Malta, (Sept.) after a blockade of two years, was compelled by famine to surrender to the British.

291. The preparations of Austria, during the suspension of arms, were on a scale commensurate with her dignity, and worthy of the patriotism of her people; and efforts were made, though in vain, to rouse the Russian and Prussian cabinets to active co-operation. At the renewal of hostilities, 110,000 effective men were collected on the Inn to defend the frontier of the Hereditary States; but the Aulic Council committed their usual fault of weakening their force by spreading it over too great an extent, so that not more than 60,000 could be collected on the main points; and the gallant Kray was superseded in the command by the Archduke John, whose youth and inexperience were ill adapted to cope with the science of Moreau. In Italy, Marshal Bellegarde had 100,000 men; but this army, too, was weakened by the immense line it had to defend; and as the armistice, by a strange oversight, had not been extended to the Italian powers, the French generals had been allowed to crush, with great cruelty, a popular insurrection which broke out against them in Tuscany. A terrific massacre of the armed peasants took place (Oct. 16) at Arezzo; Leghorn was seized, and a vast quantity of British merchandise in the port confiscated. Two edicts, at the same time, issued from the Tuileries—one formally incorporating the Netherlands with France; the other (Oct. 16) extinguishing Swiss independence, by declaring that no authority would be recognised but that of the executive commission, to which Buonaparte transmitted his orders.

292. The French, meanwhile, had raised their army in Italy to 80,000 men, and that under Moreau to 110,000, all in the finest state of discipline and equipment which any forces of the Republic had ever attained; and hostilities recommenced at the end of November. The line afforded by the deep and rapid stream of the Inn, supported on the left by the fortress of Kufstein, and on the right by that of Braunau, and flanked by the two immense mountain-bastions of Bohemia and the Tyrol, presented extraordinary capabilities for defence; but the Aulic Council resolved on an offensive movement, and the Imperialists broke up (Nov. 27) with the view of concentration on the right towards Inns-

shot, so as to bring the weight of their army against the French left. The movements of Moreau, who was ignorant of this manœuvre of the enemy, were precisely such as to afford it success: the divisions of Grenier, Grandjean, and Hardy, were successively assailed and overthrown, (Dec. 1;) and had not the Archduke, by a halt on the 2d, given the French time to recover from their surprise, their whole army would probably have been defeated in detail. But Moreau, availing himself of this reprieve, retreated through the thick and gloomy forest of Hohenlinden to his former ground, where he awaited the assault of the Archduke.

293. Early on the morning of the 3d, a day ever memorable in the French military annals, the Austrians advanced through the forest defiles in three great columns, with all their artillery and waggons. The snow, which fell in thick flakes, made the cross paths almost impassable; and the centre, 40,000 strong, which marched by the great road from Muhlendorf to Munich, outstripped the others, and prepared to issue into the plain about nine A.M. But it was furiously assailed by the French, and at length driven back into the forest; while the right, of 25,000 men under General Latour, which had come up during the conflict, was taken in flank by Ney, and also forced back with loss. While the Austrians, thus jammed up among long files of cannon and waggons, were already beginning to fall into confusion, the French corps of Richepanse, the march of which had been delayed, found itself unexpectedly in the rear of the enemy's centre, which was taken completely by surprise. Grouchy and Ney, at the same moment, charged in front, and the combined effort was irresistible. The disorder and rout of the Austrians became dreadful: the right, which was gradually gaining ground, joined in the panic; and the whole army took to flight in one tumultuous mass. In the universal wreck, about 100 guns, 300 waggons, and 7000 prisoners, were taken by the Republicans; and 7000 of the enemy were killed or wounded. Such was the great battle of Hohenlinden, which at once prostrated the strength of the Austrian monarchy.

294. The shattered forces of the Imperialists at first made a

show of maintaining themselves behind the Inn ; but Moreau, resolving to push his advantages to the utmost, succeeded, by a bold manœuvre, in passing that river (Dec. 8) at Neupern and Rosenheim ; and still pressing impetuously forward, passed the Salza at Lauffen, (Dec. 13,) and occupied Salzburg on the following day, notwithstanding a severe check inflicted on the corps of Lecourbe by the Austrian cavalry in front of the town. On the 19th, the Austrians were driven with severe loss over the Traun ; and though the appointment of the Archduke Charles to the command for a moment revived the spirits of the soldiers, the struggle was found to be hopeless ; and an armistice was signed at Steyer, (Dec. 25,) when the French advanced posts were within twenty leagues of Vienna.

295. The operations during the same period in the Grisons, where Macdonald commanded the second army of reserve, if inferior to those of the German campaign in magnitude, yield to none in romantic interest. This corps, which was announced as 40,000, in reality consisted of only 15,000 men, who were destined to menace the rear of the Imperialists on the Mincio, while Brune attacked them in front. But for this purpose it was necessary to cross the Splugen, the most difficult of all the passages from Switzerland to Italy ; and so arduous was the undertaking at that season, that it was not till his remonstrances had been answered by reiterated orders from Buonaparte to proceed, that Macdonald prepared to attempt it. On the 27th of November, accordingly, the ascent was commenced from the Via Mala and the village of Splugen : but the head of the column was swept over the precipices by an avalanche, and the attempt could not be resumed till Dec. 1, when, by sending oxen and peasants in advance to clear and trample the snow, the advanced guard succeeded in effecting the passage. Two other columns followed on the 2d and 3d ; but the march of the main body, on the 4th, was impeded by heavy snow and continual avalanches, through which the soldiers could be persuaded to advance only by the example of their heroic general, who led the way in person, sounding the loose snow with a pole. Animated by his example,

the troops at length surmounted the icy wilderness, though with the loss of many of their number, and reached Chiavenna, at the upper end of the lake of Como, (Dec. 6.) No more extraordinary performance is recorded in modern war, except perhaps the march of Suwarroff over the Schachienthal, (p. 150-1,) where the attacks of an active enemy were added to the obstacles of nature. Buonaparte's passage of the St Bernard, in fine weather and without opposition, will bear no comparison with either.

236. The next task was the difficult passage of the Col Aprigi, between the valley of the Adda and that of the Oglio; and after this, to surmount the icy summit of Mount Tonal, between the Oglio and the Adige. But the defile of the latter, flanked on each side by inaccessible glaciers, had been fortified with immense blocks of ice cut like masonry; and before these frozen defences all the valour of the French proved fruitless. They were repulsed with slaughter in two assaults, (Dec. 22 and 31,) and obliged to abandon the enterprise. But in order to understand the importance of these operations, we must revert to the hostile movements in the Italian plains.

297. On the expiry of the armistice, the Imperial main army on the Mincio was 65,000 strong, including 15,000 horse, on a line flanked by the Po and the lake of Garda, and strengthened by the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, and Borghetto; while the French disposable force under Brune amounted to 61,000 foot and 9000 horse, with 178 guns—all now in the highest state of discipline and equipment. Twenty-five thousand more guarded the flanks and rear against the disaffection of the Italians, which the recent exactions had raised to the highest pitch; and 25,000 were in the hospitals. Hostilities recommenced on 16th December, and on the 20th, the Austrian defences on the Mincio (which is not fordable in winter) were attacked at four different points. It was Brune's intention to cross at Mozambano on his left; but Dupont, who had been ordered to make a feigned attack on the right, converted it into a real one on seeing the Austrians give way; and though nearly sacrificed by the hesitation of Brune to send troops to his aid, succeeded (26th) in

establishing a bridge at Belluno. The whole French army passed the Adige, and the enemy, abandoning Bortolotto, fell back to the Adige, with the loss of 7000 men. Their army, however, was so weakened by the garrisons left on the Mincio, that Bellegarde could not retreat up the Adige to join Wukassevich and Laudon, who were advancing from the Italian Tyrol. The French passed the latter river (Jan. 1, 1801,) and severe conflicts ensued on the already captured positions of Caldiero and Rivoli, till the Austrians took post on the impregnable heights of Calliano.

298. Sir Macdonald, since his check at Mount Tonal, had entered the Italian Tyrol by another route in several columns. Wukassevich, pushed by Macdonald himself, was driven from Trent; and Laudon, who had been left to maintain the important dèfilè of La Pietra against Moncey, found himself surrounded, and only escaped over the narrow mountain-tracks to Bassano by the unworthy subterfuge of a fraudulent armistice. Bellegarde, now effecting his junction with these corps, retired leisurely to Treviso, and prepared to give battle, with numbers now superior, on the plains before that town, where his cavalry could act with effect. Brune's army, however, was severely weakened by the numerous blockading divisions left in the rear; and he consented (Jan 16) to the armistice of Treviso, on condition of the surrender of all the Italian fortresses except Mantua,—an exception which drew on him the vehement displeasure of Buonaparte.

299. Before the general pacification, however, which was soon after signed at Lunéville, it is necessary to notice some occurrences during this period in Italy. An insurrection in Piedmont against the French (Jan 1801) was suppressed by Soult and Murat; and a Neapolitan army of 16,000 men, which had advanced through the Roman states into Tuscany, was routed, almost without firing a shot, by 6000 men under Miollis. A formidable invasion of Naples was in preparation to avenge this attempt, when the intercession of the Czar (to secure which the Queen of Naples had repaired in person to St Petersburg) procured a respite, and the treaty of Fofigno was signed, (Feb. 9,) remarkable for

containing, in its prohibition of British merchandise, the first germ of the famous *Continental System*. The fortresses and harbours of the Neapolitan territories were placed in the hands of Bonaparte, and a force was despatched to reduce Elba, which had been ceded to France; but the little British garrison, under Colonel Airy gallantly defended the place for five months, and only at last yielded it in virtue of an express condition in the treaty of Amiens.

300. The treaty of Luneville was at length signed (Feb. 9,) on conditions not materially differing from those of Campo Formio. Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were ceded anew to France; Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Grand-duke of Tuscany gave up his dominions to the youthful Duke of Parma,—a branch of the Spanish family: the new republics were acknowledged; and Venice, with the boundary of the Adige, left to Austria. But by insisting on the signature of the Emperor not only as sovereign of the Hereditary States, but as head of the Empire, (a step opposed to the fundamental laws of the Germanic body, but rendered inevitable by the exigencies of the case,) Bonaparte sowed the seeds of future dissension in Germany, of which he well knew how to take advantage. The Diet, indeed, ratified the step, in consideration of the painful necessity of the moment; but the discord which arose from the unsettled question of indemnity to the dispossessed princes continued to distract Germany, and was the first predisposing cause to that league which, under the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, so well served the purposes of French ambition, and dissolved the venerable fabric of the German empire.

IV. *The Northern Maritime Confederacy.*

301. The system of international maritime law, which has for centuries been recognised and acted on by the naval powers of Europe, with reference to neutral vessels, may be summed up in the following propositions:—1. That neutral nations shall not be allowed to carry on, in behalf of a belligerent power, those

branches of its commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace. 2. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies found at sea, and detain neutral ships, if laden therewith. 3. That neutrals shall not be suffered to supply the belligerent with naval and military stores, and other articles designated as *contraband of war*; and that neutral vessels so laden are lawful prize to the armed ships of the other belligerent. 4. That neutral vessels may be detained and seized if they attempt to enter a port, or if they are destined for a port, blockaded by an efficient force of the other belligerent, after due notice given to the neutral. 5. That, therefore, neutral ships, whether under convoy or not, may be visited and searched as a matter of right, by the cruisers of the belligerents.

302. These rights, though more frequently exercised by the British as the natural result of their maritime superiority, had never been claimed as an exclusive privilege by that nation, but had been equally held good by the courts of every naval power. Though sometimes waived by special agreement in favour of particular states, they had never been disputed in theory till 1780, when the northern powers, (Russia, Sweden, and Denmark,) seeing the British hard pressed by the French and Spanish fleets at the close of the American war, entered into the famous league called the Armed Neutrality, for the establishment of a new maritime code, on the principle that "free ships make free goods"—and that "the flag covers the merchandise."

303. These principles, however, were found so much at variance with the practice of European warfare, that, in 1787, when Sweden went to war with Russia, and Russia with the Porte, the old code was returned to—and the Armed Neutrality was expressly abandoned in a maritime treaty between Russia and Britain in 1793. But this pacific state of things was altered by the naval triumphs of the British, which led to the almost total disappearance of the French flag from the ocean. Frequent collisions took place between British cruisers and neutral vessels endeavouring to slide into the lucrative trade left open by the destruction of the French marine; and negotiations were already on

foot among the Baltic powers for the revival of the Armed Neutrality, when the capture of the Danish frigate Freya (July 25, 1800) for refusing to allow her convoy to be searched, brought matters to a crisis. Lord Whitworth was sent in August as special envoy to Copenhagen, backed by a powerful squadron under Admiral Dickson, who passed the Sound and anchored off the Danish capital;—and the Danes, unprepared for resistance, entered into a convention, acknowledging the right of search till further consideration.

304. But the passage of the Sound produced far different effects at St Petersburg, where the Czar, from various causes, was already well-inclined to exchange the British alliance for that of France. An embargo was instantly laid on all British vessels in Russian ports, 300 in number; their crews, with Asiatic barbarity, were marched into the interior; and all British property on shore was sequestered, "till Malta should be given up to the Emperor," who claimed it as protector of the Order of St John. The King of Sweden entered at once warmly into his views; Prussia followed the example; and Denmark, whose position exposed her to the first attack of Britain, more reluctantly gave in her adhesion. The "Maritime Confederacy," on the principles of the Armed Neutrality, was concluded on 16th December 1800; while Paul addressed an autograph letter to Buonaparte, and despatched an ambassador to Paris to cement the union of France and Russia.

305. It was evident that this new code, if established, would nullify all the British naval victories, by enabling France to cover her commerce by neutral flags; but Britain was not now, as at the close of the American war, obliged to dissemble her indignation. Letters of marque were issued, and followed up by numerous captures:—while the Danes, on the other hand, entering Hamburg, extended the embargo to that great emporium; and Hanover was occupied by the Prussians. Meanwhile the question was vehemently debated, both by the ambassadors at the respective courts, and by the British parliament at its opening in February 1801: but the diplomatic notes led to no satisfactory results;

and the ministerial policy was affirmed by a majority in the Commons of 245 to 63. But the personal objections of the King to the removal of the Catholic disabilities, to which Mr Pitt considered himself pledged as a consequence of the Irish Union, afforded at least the ostensible reason for the resignation of that minister and his personal adherents, which took place on 10th February: the real cause, more probably, was the reluctance of Mr Pitt to be personally concerned in concluding the peace with France, which he saw could not be much longer delayed.

306. His successors were, however, chosen from his own party—Mr Addington being first lord of the treasury, and Lord Hawkesbury minister of foreign affairs; and no decrease of vigour or energy was visible in their measures. The land troops, including militia and fencibles, amounted to 300,000: 120 ships of the line were put in commission, and 139,000 seamen and marines voted. To meet the deficiency of revenue arising from these prodigious charges, a fresh loan of £25,500,000 was contracted—to provide for the interest and gradual reduction of which, new taxes were imposed to the amount of £1,794,000. The total expenditure for the year exceeded £42,000,000, besides above £20,000,000 interest on the debt. Yet the condition of the empire at this period was unprecedentedly wealthy and prosperous; the exports had tripled, and the imports more than tripled, since the commencement of the war; capital abounded; and agriculture had advanced in a still greater ratio than population; so that, although the latter had increased one-sixth since 1791, the dependence on foreign supplies was rapidly diminishing.

307. Great Britain had need, however, of all her energies, for the naval forces of the league were extremely formidable. Russia had 47 line-of-battle ships, besides frigates, in the Baltic and Archangel; but not more than 15 were ready for service, and the crews were very deficient. Sweden had 18 ships and 14 large frigates, with innumerable galleys and small craft, well manned and equipped; and Denmark had 23 ships and 14 frigates. By the union of these forces, the blockade of the French harbours might be raised, and the confederate fleets ride triumphant in the Channel; so

that immediate energy was indispensable on the part of Britain. On the 12th of March, 18 ships of the line, with four frigates and thirteen bomb-vessels, sailed from Portsmouth under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command; and after being detained some days at the entrance of the Sound by an abortive attempt at negotiation, proceeded to force the passage on the 24th, as the batteries on the Swedish shore did not fire. Little damage was experienced; and about noon the fleet anchored in Copenhagen.

The power of the British had been turned to good account by the Danes; from the Prince-Royal to the artisan, all classes laboured with unremitting energy in their preparations for defence, and the sea approaches were covered with such an array of ships, boats, gun-boats, and floating batteries, as would have deterred any other assailant than the hero of the Nile. All the buoys had been taken up in the narrow and intricate channels by which the harbour is approached; but the soundings were taken by Nelson himself, who determined on following a track named the King's Channel, leading between the dangerous shoal of the middle ground, and the entrance of the harbour. At day-break on 2d April he accordingly advanced with the main body of the line, besides smaller vessels; the other division, under Sir Hyde Parker, remaining in reserve; and though three ships, the *Agamemnon*, *Bellona*, and *Russell*, grounded on the shoal, the others reached their appointed stations in safety, and soon after 10 A.M. the battle of Copenhagen began. The cannonade soon became tremendous; above 2000 guns dealt death in a space not more than a mile and a half in breadth; till, after three hours' continuance, the signal of recall was made by Sir Hyde Parker, whom the wind and current prevented from rendering any assistance. The signal was seen in time to save the frigate squadron, which, with desperate bravery, but wholly inadequate force, was bearing up against the iron storm of the Crown batteries, and which had lost its gallant commander Captain Riou: but Nelson kept the signal for closer action flying, and continued his fire with unabated vigour. Notwithstanding the heroism of the Danes, who nobly

upheld in that trying hour their ancient reputation, their cannonade gradually slackened before the irresistible rapidity and precision of the British fire; and before 2 P.M., their whole front line, consisting of 6 sail of the line, and 11 huzo floating batteries, was all either taken, burnt, or destroyed.

309. The loss on both sides had been very severe: the British had 1200 killed and wounded, a greater proportion to their numbers than in any battle during the war; the Danish loss was twice as great, and, including the prisoners, amounted to 6000. But the Crown batteries and the isle of Amak still kept up their fire both on the British ships and their prizes, till Lord Nelson addressed a note to the Crown-Prince, declaring that, unless the firing ceased, he must set fire to his prizes without the power of saving their crews. This message had the desired effect: the British fleet weighed, and joined Sir Hyde Parker's squadron in the middle of the straits; the prizes were brought off on the following day, though only one, the Holstein, was carried to England, the rest being so shattered that it was necessary to destroy them. Thus ended the battle of Copenhagen, characterised by Nelson as the "most terrible of all the hundred engagements in which he had been present." The admiral landed on the following day, and had an interview with the Crown-Prince, in which an armistice for fourteen weeks was arranged, in order, as Nelson candidly admitted, that he might have time to deal with the Swedes and Russians, before returning to Denmark.

310. But an event had in the mean time occurred at St Petersburg which at once changed the policy of Russia: this was the death of the Emperor Paul. Since his alliance with Buonaparte, he had been busily engaged in maturing with him a joint project for the overthrow of the British power in India: but his domestic government was marked by a degree of extravagance scarcely to be explained except on the ground of insanity, and which had produced a general feeling of irritation. This discontent was augmented by the rupture with Britain, which deprived the nobles of the great market for their produce, which constituted

their chief wealth : a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Count Pahlen, the governor of St Petersburg, and he was strangled on the night of the 23d March. One of the first acts of his son and successor Alexander was to release the British sailors who had been sent into the interior, and to address an autograph letter to the King of Great Britain, expressive of his wish to re-establish amicable relations. His domestic measures were equally popular, restoring to the nobles the privileges of which they had been deprived by his father, and reinstating things generally on their former footing. The British fleet had in the mean time remained in Kiogo Bay till 5th May, when the recall of Sir Hyda Parker left Nelson sole in command ; and he lost no time in presenting himself before Cronstadt, and opening communications with the Russian authorities. The fleet soon after returned to Britain, and Lord St Helens proceeded to St Petersburg, where (June 17) a convention was signed (in spite of the efforts of Duroc, whom Buonaparte had despatched to counteract the influence of Great Britain) by which the principles of the Maritime Confederacy were abandoned, and the English construction of the naval law of nations acknowledged in all its main points. Sweden and Denmark followed the example of Russia ; and a separate convention was concluded with Prussia for the evacuation of Hanover, and the restoration of the free navigation of the Weser.

311. Thus, in less than six months from its formation, was dissolved the most formidable league ever arrayed against the British maritime power ; and the rapidity with which it was broken up by Great Britain shows in the strongest light the vast moral ascendancy she had acquired. Commercial intercourse with Great Britain was essential to the very existence of Russia : and its interruption led at once to the revolution which closed the reign and life of Paul. The bearing of Britain during this trying crisis was a model of firmness and moderation : while boldly confronting her combined adversaries, she held out the olive branch at the same time that she paralysed, by the thunder of her arms, the first of her opponents ; and her conduct was

deservedly crowned by one of the most glorious triumphs recorded in her history.

V. *British Expedition to Egypt—Peace of Amiens.*

312. Buonaparte, on quitting the shores of Egypt, had bequeathed the command of the army to Kleber, whom at the same time he authorised by letter to conclude a treaty for the evacuation of the country, if not reinforced during the following year. The indignation of the soldiers on finding themselves deserted by their chief was at first very great, and Kleber addressed a letter to the Directory, in which he bitterly complained of the destitute and unprovided state in which they had been left to sustain the impending attack of the Vizier's army, of which the corps routed at Aboukir was only the advanced-guard. There can be no doubt that the wants and sufferings of the army were exaggerated in this despatch; but the Grand Vizier, with 20,000 janissaries and regular troops, and at least 25,000 irregulars, actually arrived at Gaza by the end of October; while another Turkish corps, under the convoy of Sir Sidney Smith, made an unsuccessful attempt to establish itself at the mouth of the Nile. Al-Arish, the key of Egypt, was taken by the Vizier, (Dec. 29;) and the French commander, anxious to return to Europe, shortly after (Jan. 24, 1800) signed a convention (of Al-Arish) by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt within three months, and return to Europe with their arms and baggage, on the payment of £120,000 as an indemnity.

313. But by the treaty of January 1799, the Porte was bound to make no peace with France, unless in concert with Russia and Great Britain; and before the signature of the convention, orders had been sent to Lord Keith, the British admiral in the Mediterranean, to consent to no arrangement by which the French did not become prisoners of war. This was notified to Kleber, who forthwith broke off the treaty in indignation, and resumed hostilities with the Turks. A battle was fought on 20th March, near the ruins of Heliopolis; but the fiery onset of the Oriental

cavalry recoiled, as before, from the steady squares and rolling fire of the French: the camp of the janissaries was stormed; and the total discomfiture and dispersion of nearly 50,000 Ottomans by 12,000 French, gave a fresh proof of the invincibility of European discipline. During the battle, a Turkish corps had entered Cairo, but evacuated it on the defeat of the main body; the populace of the city, however, remained in arms, and were only reduced after frightful bloodshed. An armistice concluded with Mourad Bey completed the pacification of Egypt; and Kleber was beginning to reap the fruits of his intrepidity and judicious conduct, when he was murdered by an obscure fanatic, and succeeded in the command by Menou, the senior general of division. But the new chief (who had publicly assumed the Mahommedan dress and religion) was far inferior to his predecessor in both civil and military talent, and was little adequate to bear the brunt of the fresh attack which the British were preparing, in concert with the Porte, in order to expel the French from their usurped settlement.

314. In pursuance of this new plan, the corps of Sir Ralph Abercromby, long inactive in the Mediterranean, sailed from Malta, (Dec. 10;) while 8000 troops, under Sir David Baird, were to embark at Bombay for Suez; and the Vizier, after reorganising his army in Syria, was to co-operate by a fresh invasion. But great practical difficulties impeded the execution of this well-conceived project. The Ottoman levies were few and dispirited, and disabled by the ravages of the plague; the arrival of the Bombay auxiliaries was distant and uncertain; and Abercromby gallantly resolved to make the attempt alone. With a fleet of 200 transports and other vessels, bearing 17,500 troops, he accordingly sailed from Marmarice in the Levant, and anchored in Aboukir Bay (March 1, 1801.) On the 8th the disembarkation was effected in the face of the French, who had lined the sand-hills with troops and artillery: the heights were carried with the bayonet by the 23d, 40th, and 42d regiments; and the enemy retreated to Alexandria. A second bloody though partial encounter, on the 13th, likewise terminated to the

advantage of the British; and Menou, who, like most of his contemporaries at that period, had hitherto greatly underrated the British land forces, was at length awakened to his danger; and moved from Cairo with all his disposable force. A general action took place on the 21st, under the walls of Alexandria; and though the brave Abercromby was mortally wounded early in the battle, the steady intrepidity of the British infantry triumphed, after a desperate struggle, over the superiority of their opponents in cavalry and artillery; and Menou, after losing 2000 men, directed a retreat on Alexandria.

315. The battle of Alexandria was the first decisive victory gained by the British over the arms of revolutionary France. But its first results were not very decisive: and it was not till he had been reinforced by 6000 Turks, that General Hutchinson (who succeeded Abercromby in the command) drove the enemy from Damietta and Rosetta. Dissensions broke out among the French leaders, no longer controlled by the master-genius of Buonaparte or Kleber: and the capture of Ramanieh on the Nile (May 7) cut off the communication between Alexandria and the corps left under Belliard at Cairo. The Vizier's army in the mean time had again entered Egypt, and, directed by British officers, gained a victory near Cairo; and Belliard, invested by the Allies in the capital, capitulated (May 22) with nearly 14,000 troops, and 320 heavy guns, on condition of being conveyed to France. The armament despatched under General Baird from Bonibay had been delayed by contrary winds; but they reached Cosseir, in Upper Egypt, early in July, and marching across the wilderness to Thebes, thence descended the Nile to Cairo, where they arrived on 10th August. Thus, for the first time in the history of the world, the sable battalions of Hindostan, the swarthy Asiatics from the plains of the Euphrates, and the blue-eyed English from the shores of the Thames, met in arms at the foot of the Pyramids.

316. Menou had refused to be included in the capitulation of Cairo, and prepared to defend Alexandria, against which General Hutchinson moved in August, after the embarkation of Belliard.

but the vigorous operations of the British soon convinced him that resistance was hopeless; and he yielded (Aug. 31,) on the same terms as those granted at Cairo. Ten thousand men submitted with him, and nearly 400 pieces of cannon, with immense military stores, fell into the hands of the British. It had been also stipulated that the collections of antiquities, &c. should be given up; but the artists and *savans* who had formed them threatened to destroy rather than surrender them, and General Hutchinson generously waived the point. The total amount of troops who capitulated in Egypt was upwards of 24,000, all veterans: an astonishing success to have been achieved by a British force which had hardly ever seen a shot fired, and which, even including the Indian auxiliaries, never amounted to the same numerical strength. After the reduction of Alexandria, 12,000 men, comprehending the Bombay army, were left to secure the country; General Hutchinson returning with the rest to England.

317. An atrocious act of treachery on the part of the Capitan-Pasha, by which three out of seven Mamluke Beys, who had been invited to confer with him, lost their lives, was frustrated in part by the spirited interference of General Hutchinson, who obliged the Turkish commander to liberate the survivors. But this brilliant cavalry had been ruined, and almost destroyed, in the contest with the French; and their chiefs, when left to their own resources, were utterly unable to resume their former ascendancy. The feudal sovereignty of the Mamlukes in Egypt was therefore ere long replaced by the effective rule of a Turkish pasha, who has in our days rendered it the seat of a powerful and virtually independent government. But these remote consequences were as yet unforeseen; and the rejoicings at Constantinople for the surrender of Alexandria, were not less enthusiastic than at London, where the humiliation of France, on the element where she had so long been victorious, was hailed as a harbinger of the greater triumphs awaiting the British arms, if the enemy should carry into execution their long-threatened scheme of invasion.

318. During all these transactions, no efforts had been spared by Buonaparte to preserve his hold upon Egypt, and a squadron despatched for the purpose, under Admiral Gantheaume, had made three several attempts to land reinforcements and supplies at Alexandria, but had on each occasion been foiled by the vigilance of the British fleet. In order to support this attempt, the Spanish fleet at Cadiz had been placed under the orders of the French admiral Dumanoir, and three French ships under Linois were to join them from Toulon. These last vessels, however, encountering six British ships under Sir James Saumarez, took refuge in the Bay of Algesiraz; and here the British, pursuing them close to the Spanish batteries, were repulsed (July 6) with the loss of a 74 gun-ship, which grounded under their fire. While the British were refitting at Gibraltar, the French ships were brought off from Algesiraz by the Spanish squadron from Cadiz; but as the combined force passed the Straits on the night of the 12th, they were again boldly assailed by the British, when a terrible catastrophe befell two Spanish three-deckers, which, attacking each other by mistake in the dark, both took fire and blew up with nearly their whole crews. The *St Antoine*, a 74, was captured; and the rest, though severely handled, escaped into Cadiz.

319. About the same time an attack on Portugal, the tried ally of Britain, was made by Buonaparte in conjunction with Spain; not, as the French themselves admit, that there was any real ground of complaint, beyond the wish to provide an equivalent, which might be given up at the conclusion of peace, in exchange for the maritime conquests of Britain. The ostensible object was to compel the court of Lisbon to separate itself from the British alliance. Spain declared war on 3d March; and after the occupation of several frontier towns in Portugal by the Spaniards, a peace was signed, (June 6,) by which Portugal agreed to cede Olivenza to Spain, and to shut her ports to the British flag. The ratification of this treaty, however, was only purchased from France by an enormous pecuniary sacrifice, extorted by the appearance of a French army in Portugal.

320. Meanwhile Buonaparte, freed by the treaty of Lunéville

from all apprehensions on the Continent, bent his whole attention to the shores of Great Britain; and Boulogne became the headquarters of a numerous flotilla of gun-boats, flat-bottomed pinnaces, and other small craft, destined for the invasion of Britain. These preparations excited great alarm among the British public; and though the government did not participate to the full extent in the popular feeling, it was impossible to conceal the alarming fact, that the same wind which was favourable to the French might chain the British cruisers in port; and a powerful armament of light vessels, under the command of Lord Nelson, was directed to attempt the destruction of the Boulogne flotilla. The attack was made on the night of 15th August; but the French vessels, chained to each other and to the ground, fortified with projecting pikes and boarding-nettings, crowded with soldiers, and lying close under the batteries on shore, were wallagh impregnable: the strength of the tide threw the divisions of British boats out of their order: and after a desperate combat of four hours, the assailants were repulsed, with the loss of 172 men killed and wounded.

§21. But during all these warlike demonstrations, negotiations for peace were in active progress: the victories of France by land, and of Britain by sea, having in truth left no common element on which war could be waged. The adjustment of the preliminaries was delayed during several months by the exorbitant pretensions of France, which refused to abandon Egypt, till the defeat of her troops in that country, by depriving her of all hope of retaining it by arms, facilitated the arrangements; and at the moment when a rumour had gone forth that all hopes of peace were at an end, the people of both nations were transported with joy by the announcement that the preliminaries had been signed (Oct. 1) at London. These articles, which were nearly the same as those of the definitive treaty, provided that the colonial conquests of Great Britain, except Ceylon and Trinidad, should be given up; Egypt was to be restored to the Porte, Malta to the Knights of St John, and the Cape to Holland; the Roman and Neapolitan harbours were to be evacuated by the French,

and Porto Ferrajo by the British ; the integrity of Portugal guaranteed ; the Ionian Islands recognised as a republic ; and a compensation for the loss of Holland provided for the house of Orange.

322. But notwithstanding the universal delight with which the termination of hostilities was hailed by the inconsiderate populace, there were many men of sagacity and foresight in Britain who stigmatised the conditions of the peace, and foretold that it could not be of long continuance. Ministers, however, were eventually supported by a majority of 276 to 20 in the Lower, and 122 to 16 in the Upper House ; and the definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, 27th March 1802. Treaties had been concluded at the close of the preceding year between France on one side, and Bavaria, Austria, and Russia * respectively on the other ; and the pacification of the world was thus, for the time, complete.

323. Such was the termination of the first period of the war ; and on calmly reviewing the question, it is evident that the policy of the pacific party in Britain was well founded. The government of the First Consul, as compared with those preceding it, was stable and regular ; the reduction of the French military power was apparently hopeless ; and the independence of Great Britain was secured by her own naval supremacy. It was therefore indisputably the duty of government at least to put to the test the sincerity of the First Consul's professions of moderation, and to conclude a war of which the burdens were heavy and certain, and the advantage remote. Nor could the terms be justly called discreditable to Great Britain, when she terminated a strife which had proved so disastrous to the greatest Continental states, with her constitution untouched, and without ceding a single acre which had belonged to her at its commencement ; while her insular situation, and the energy of her people, had

* The treaty with Russia, signed on 8th October, contained some important secret articles on maritime law, the equilibrium to be preserved between the German powers, the Ionian Islands, &c., which were ultimately the cause of the differences between France and Russia.

enabled her, during its continuance, to extend her commerce and resources to so unparalleled an extent as to justify Mr Pitt's observation, that the relative strength of the two powers was nearly the same at the end as at the beginning of the war.

VI. *Reconstruction of Society in France by Buonaparte.*

324. When Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consular throne, addressed himself to the herculean task of closing the wounds of the Revolution, he found the bonds of society dissolved to an extent unexampled in the history of the world. Not only the throne and the aristocracy, but the whole institutions of religion, law, commerce, and education, had been overturned. Even the hospitals and charitable establishments had shared in the general wreck; commerce and manufactures were almost extinct; and the wealth which should have supported them had disappeared. The erection of a military despotism, therefore, was inevitable, and cannot justly be made a ground of reproach against Buonaparte: the elements of constitutional freedom had been annihilated by the destruction of the upper classes: the only method left to right the balance was to throw the sword into the scale. The failure of all subsequent attempts to frame a constitutional monarchy in France proves that Buonaparte rightly appreciated its political condition.

325. The secret but indelible hatred of Buonaparte to the Jacobins was speedily manifested. On 24th December 1800, while on his way to the opera an attempt was made to assassinate him, by means of an infernal machine, intended to explode while his carriage passed it; but the rapidity with which his coachman drove anticipated by a moment the explosion, by which numerous persons were killed and wounded. The conspiracy originated, as was afterwards clearly proved, with the Royalists; and its contrivers, St Regent and Carbon, were condemned and executed. but Buonaparte persisted in ascribing it to the Jacobins, and eagerly seized the pretext for inflicting a deathblow on the remnant of that faction. In spite of the

resistance of some of the members of his Council, who urged the total want of evidence, he dictated a decree, which was adopted by the Senate, and forthwith carried into execution, for the transportation of not fewer than 130 persons. Among these were several who had been engaged in the massacres of September; also Rossignol, infamous for his cruelty in la Vendée, and other noted Jacobins of the Convention, on whom, by a just retribution, the arbitrary tyranny they had so long exercised at length recoiled.

326. In order to familiarise the people with the aspect of royalty, the next step of Buonaparte was to exhibit to the Parisians (May 1801) the young King of Etruria, the title assumed by the Duke of Parma, on his acquisition of Tuscany at the peace of Luneville. The newly-created monarch, with his young bride, an infanta of Spain, was entertained with extraordinary magnificence; and the Parisians pleased themselves with the idea that, like the Roman senate, they could make and unmake kings. At the same juncture a great sensation was occasioned by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled "Parallel between Caesar, Cromwell, and Buonaparte," in which the abuse of monarchy and hereditary succession was strongly advocated. But this device was premature: "the pear," as Buonaparte himself said, "was not yet ripe;" and in order to quiet popular suspicion, his brother Lucien, who was known to be the author, was sent into honourable exile as ambassador at Madrid.

327. The lists of eligibility in the new constitution had been complained of as virtually instituting a new nobility, by concentrating all offices of importance in the five thousand notables of France; but Buonaparte soon took a more decided step in this direction, by the institution of the famous Legion of Honour. No measure during the consulate experienced so violent an opposition as this, which was viewed as subversive of all the principles of the Revolution; and it was only by very slender majorities that it passed the legislative body, the Tribunate, and the Council of State. It was carried, however, (May) the inauguration of the members, both civil and military, was

conducted with great magnificence; and the event proved the correctness of Buonaparte's views. The leading object of the Revolution was the abolition of hereditary not personal honours; and the Legion of Honour, to which the humblest might hope to aspire, became in the highest degree useful and popular. At the same time (May 8) the consulship of Buonaparte was prolonged for ten years—a measure which passed almost unnoticed by the people at large.

328. But all these changes sink into insignificance when compared with the great step of re-establishing the Catholic religion. The irreligion of ten years had completed the prostration of Christianity; many of the churches had been pulled down; and while a small number in Paris listened to the fanciful reveries of the Theophilanthropists, the great majority of the nation, educated without religion, lived altogether without God in the world. Buonaparte, though not a fanatic, nor even a believer, clearly saw that this state was incompatible with a regular government; and a negotiation was opened with the Pope, which, after many delays and difficulties, ended in the conclusion of a *concordat*, 5th July 1801, which, after some opposition from the legislature, became law on 2d April 1802. Ten archbishops, fifty bishops, and a competent number of parish priests, paid by the state, were appointed; and the subordination of the Gallican church to the government of its own country, as well as its practical independence of the papal authority, was carefully provided for. On 11th April 1802, mass was celebrated with great pomp in Notre Dame by the Archbishop of Paris, in the presence of the First Consul and his court; but many of the military chiefs positively refused to attend, and the contemptuous dissatisfaction of the army was openly manifested. The peasants of the rural districts, however, hailed with delight the re-establishment of the priests; and the restoration of Sunday as a day of rest; and a prodigious moral effect was produced throughout Europe by the voluntary return of France to the Christian faith. The horror with which the Revolution had been hitherto regarded was sensibly diminished; and the Emperor of Germany, and other

sovereigns, publicly expressed their congratulations on this auspicious event.

329. Connected with the revival of religion were the measures in favour of the emigrants, who amounted to near 100,000; "a number," said Buonaparte, "enough to bewilder one." But by a decree of 26th November 1800, this melancholy list was divided into two classes, from the first and most numerous of which the prohibition was removed. They returned, therefore, in crowds; and on 29th April 1802, a general amnesty was published, from which only about a thousand were excepted. It had originally been the generous design of Buonaparte to restore to the proprietors the whole of the confiscated property which had not been alienated; but this was vehemently opposed in the Council of State, and was found practicable only to a limited extent. From a report of the minister Ramel, it appeared that, before 1801, national domains had been sold to the enormous amount of £100,000,000; and that there remained unsold to the value of £28,000,000. The restitution of the great mass of the confiscated estates, at the expense of the four millions of paper money among whom they were now divided, was manifestly impossible; and the consequent want of a landed aristocracy to maintain the balance between the people and the executive, has been ever since felt as the irreparable want in the French government. All attempts to establish a constitutional throne, or establish freedom on a durable basis, have failed from the absence of that element—a want which, in the prophetic words of Buonaparte himself, "will long perpetuate the misfortunes and agony of unhappy France."

330. Among the other measures of reorganisation which marked this period, was the establishment of an endowed system of public instruction, to replace the schools which had disappeared during the revolutionary wreck. A naval conscription was also resolved upon, (Oct. 1, 1802;) and the Ecole Militaire, for the instruction of young officers, was remodelled and extended. The projects of Buonaparte for the administration and improvement of the colonies were marked by the same comprehensive sagacity

which distinguished his domestic reforms; but the speedy renewal of the war prevented their being carried into effect. The inequality of the *cadastre*, or scale of valuation for the land-tax, also attracted the attention of government. The amount of this burden was nearly twenty per cent on the net product of agricultural labour, which had hitherto been levied almost at the arbitrary will of the surveyors. Buonaparte attempted to remedy the evil by laying the valuation, not on parcels of ground, but on masses of the same kind of cultivation; but this principle, though apparently equitable, was found by experience equally oppressive with the old plan; and the *cadastre* continues, to the present day, the subject of loud and well-founded complaints.

331. In the midst of these great designs, however, Buonaparte experienced much annoyance from the harangues of the orators of the Tribunal, in their discussions with the Council of State. The displeasure of the republicans in the former body was vehemently roused by the application to the French of the term *subjects* instead of *citizens*, in the treaty with Russia; and the transference of the municipal police and the power of arresting individuals from the *juges de paix* elected by the people, to a small number of judges appointed by government, awakened a still more strenuous opposition, and was with difficulty passed into a law. Buonaparte thenceforward resolved on destroying the powers of the Tribunal, the only branch of the government where freedom and publicity of discussion still existed; but this important change was deferred till he became First Consul for life—an event not long deferred.

332. It was evident, in fact, to every impartial spectator, that France, with her vast revenues, powerful army, and corrupt manners, placed moreover as she was in the midst of the great military monarchies of Europe, could exist only under a monarchy—and that Buonaparte had no alternative between restoring the Bourbons, and founding a new dynasty in his own person and family. The efforts made to spread monarchical ideas were incessant; but the first attempts to make him Consul for life failed from

the opposition of those who were not in the secret : on the second proposition, registers were opened in the communes for the votes of the people, and the result was announced by the senate, (Aug. 2, 1802.) Of 3,557,885 citizens who had voted, 2,298,259 were in the affirmative—a most remarkable proof of the invincible desire for the tranquillity of a despotism which had succeeded revolutionary convulsion. With each addition to Buonaparte's authority, the funds had risen—as low as eight before the 18th Brumaire, after the consulship for life they reached fifty-two : an instructive lesson, when compared with the rise of thirty per cent on the day of Mecker's restoration to the ministry, of the difference between the anticipation and experience of a revolution.

333. Important changes in the constitution followed : the Tribunate was rendered a nullity by being reduced from 100 to 50 members : the legislative body was reduced to 258 members, divided into five sections, one of which was renewed annually : the Senate received the power to dissolve the Tribunate and the legislative body ; and the First Consul received the right to nominate his successor. The consulship for life gave great satisfaction in the European capitals, where it was viewed as an assurance of steady government, under the firm and able guidance of Buonaparte. Paris was filled with a vast influx of foreigners, chiefly British and Russians, who dazzled the people by the brilliancy of their equipages and liveries, and contemplated with wonder and admiration the matchless treasures of art collected in the French metropolis from the vanquished states of the south. The eyes of the mob were feasted by splendid reviews in the Place Carrousel ; while the higher classes of citizens were captivated by the magnificence of the consular court, which already rivalled the most sumptuous displays of royalty.

334. Among the events of this period may be marked the suppression of the ministry of police—a measure believed to have been dictated by the apprehensions of the First Consul at the immense power thus vested in the dangerous hands of Fouché—and

a proposal of Buonaparte to Louis XVIII. (then living at Konigsberg under the title of Comte de Lille,) to renounce his pretensions and receive an Italian principality: an offer refused by the exile with a dignity worthy the race whence he sprung. It was not also that Buonaparte, aided by the most distinguished lawyers of France, commenced his great undertaking of the *Civil Code*, on which he himself truly said "that his name would live more than on all his conquests," and which has in truth survived all the other achievements of his genius, and now forms the basis of the jurisprudence of half Europe. During the discussions on these legislative reforms, the sagacity of Buonaparte, and the facility with which his intellect grasped and analysed the most abstract questions of civil right, astonished the counsellors who had been accustomed to contemplate only his military character: and never did the varied powers and prodigious capacity of his mind appear in such brilliant colours as on this occasion. On two important points, however—the laws of succession and marriage—he found the popular feeling so strong that the revolutionary enactments were left almost unaltered. The rights of primogeniture, and the distinctions between landed and movable property, were nullified, and the inheritance equally divided among all in the same degree of relationship,—an enactment which, by the immense subdivision resulting from it, and the consequent impossibility of the rise of an hereditary class between the throne and the peasant, must ever prove adverse to the establishment of constitutional freedom. The facility of divorce was another relic of revolutionary licentiousness, which it was found impracticable to abolish.

335. Thus, in the first four years of the consularship, "the First Consul had succeeded in uniting all the parties who divided France; 30,000 emigrant families were restored to their country; the affairs were raised from the dust; and immense public works gave bread to all those thrown out of employ by the preceding convulsions. The internal and financial prosperity was meanwhile daily increasing; chambers of commerce were founded in all the chief cities, the Hospital of Invalids was reorganised on

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a more extensive scale, to meet the immense demands on its benevolence; a great military school was founded at Fontainebleau, and an academy for civil and commercial instruction at Compiègne. The aspect and salubrity of Paris was improved by the erection of numerous fountains, the water for which was supplied by the opening of the Canal d'Ourcq; while the vast works undertaken at the various seaports, proved that Buonaparte had not yet abandoned the hope of wresting from Great Britain the sceptre of the ocean.

VII.—*Revolt of St Domingo—Affiliated Republics reorganised—Rupture between France and Britain.*

336. In the midst of the universal exultation and unlimited hopes for the future, which were conceived both by governments and people in Europe at the peace of Amiens, the indefatigable mind of the First Consul was not for a moment idle. Arrived at the pinnacle of military glory, he turned his attention to the recovery of the French colonies, as the only means for the permanent restoration of naval power; and an immense expedition was fitted out for the reconquest of St Domingo—a magnificent possession, which had been lost by the reckless innovations of the Constituent Assembly.

337. St Domingo is the largest, except Cuba, of all the West India islands, being about 300 miles in length, by 90 in mean breadth. Before 1789, it had been divided between the Spaniards and French; the French portion, though the smaller, being incomparably more fertile than the other, and raising more colonial produce than all the British West India islands together. Its exports amounted to the enormous value of nearly £7,000,000, and its imports from the parent state to £10,000,000. One thousand six hundred ships and 27,000 sailors were employed in this vast commerce, which was the chief support of the French mercantile navy. The population, as usual in that part of the world, was mixed, consisted of 40,000 whites, 60,000 mulattoes, and not fewer than 500,000 negro slaves. Such was the flourishing state of this

able colony, when the decree of the Constituent Assembly (1790) for the formation of a colonial legislature, awakened the smouldering jealousies of the whites and mulattoes, the former of whom claimed the exclusive right of voting, while the latter strenuously asserted their equal title: and the negroes, not less imbued with the new doctrines, secretly formed the project of ridding themselves of both. On the night of 30th September 1791, the revolt broke out at once in every quarter: the plantations were everywhere consigned to the flames, and the planters compelled to take refuge in the towns from the fury of the insurgents, who saved their prisoners asunder, and marched with infants transfixed on their lances instead of standards. The mulattoes, though not always siding with the negroes, were equally hostile to the whites: and when three delegates of the Convention, with 3000 troops, arrived in November 1791, they found Cape Town blockaded by the slaves, under their celebrated leader, Toussaint Louverture.

338. In spite, however, of the orders from the mother country, the colonial legislature refused to make any concession even to the mulattoes; while the Assembly at Paris, stimulated by the frantic harangues of the Society of Friends of the Blacks, sent three new commissioners, Arthaux, Santhonax, and Polverel, armed with unlimited powers (May 1793.) Their first measures were to proclaim freedom to the blacks, and to turn the engines of Jacobin proscription against the planters; but in the midst of a bloody tumult between the mulattoes and the crews of the fleet, Cape Town was surprised, sacked, and burnt (June 20) by the negroes, who massacred 30,000 of the inhabitants. The negro chief, Toussaint, though still professing himself a subject of France, became now the actual ruler of the island, and repulsed an attempt of the British (1794) to gain a footing there. A second furious civil war between the mulattoes and negroes ended in the almost total extermination of the former: and the conquest of the Spanish portion (1800) completed his ascendancy. Under his severe but judicious sway, the prosperity of St Domingo rapidly revived: the negroes were compelled to cultivate the lands,

which were allotted among the military chiefs, and subordination and order were preserved by an army of 20,000 men.

339. But though Toussaint had been confirmed in his command by Buonaparte, the continuance of his rule was far from agreeable to the First Consul, who perceived that the feeling of independence had taken root; and the nomination of Toussaint by the chiefs of St Domingo as President for life, which was announced to him at the moment of the peace of Amiens, showed him that no time was to be lost in reasserting the supremacy of France. An immense armament, the greatest ever yet sent from Europe to the New World, was accordingly fitted out. Thirty-five ships of the line, with 21 frigates and numerous transports, received on board an army of 21,000 men, commanded in chief by Le Clerc, the brother-in-law of Buonaparte, and under him by Rochambeau, Richepanse, Lapoype, &c.—both officers and men being principally selected, doubtless not without design, from the army of the Rhine, formerly commanded by Morcau, rather than from the personal followers of Buonaparte. The fleet reached St Domingo early in 1802; and Toussaint, though deprived by the late peace of the succour which he had expected from the British in Jamaica, resolutely prepared for defence. Cape Town, where the invaders landed, was burned by the blacks before their retreat; and a desperate warfare ensued in the impenetrable and woody mountain-ridges in the centre of the island. But though the savage bravery of the negroes more than once obtained important advantages, the contest was too unequal to continue; the ablest of the black generals, Christophe, Dessalines, and Maurepas, successively submitted; and Toussaint, left unsupported, was forced to yield. But in two months after the pacification, the illustrious African was treacherously seized by order of Le Clerc, and sent to France, where he shortly after died in confinement at the sequestered castle of Joux, in the Jura, whether by natural or violent means is unknown.

340. Meanwhile the formal re-establishment of slavery in Guadeloupe, where the blacks had also gained the ascendant, awakened universal alarm in St Domingo, being viewed as an earnest of

the fate reserved for those in that island; and a fresh general revolt broke out in October 1802. The French troops, reduced to 8000 by the ravages of the sword and the yellow fever, were concentrated about Cape Town and Port-au-Prince; but Le Clerc soon fell a victim to the epidemic, which had already proved fatal to Richépanse and others of his best officers; and the military talents of Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command, were neutralised by the violence and injustice of his civil government. The French cause was rapidly declining when the death-blow was given to it by the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Arms and ammunition were now supplied by the British to the insurgents; the different French posts, blockaded by the negroes by land, and the British by sea, were successively reduced; and so complete was the destruction of this ill-fated expedition, that of 35,000, including reinforcements, scarcely 7000 ever returned to France. Since this period St Domingo has been nominally independent; but the changes of its government, and the present condition of the inhabitants, are foreign to our subject.

341. But though the ambitious designs of the First Consul were unsuccessful in the western hemisphere, the preliminaries of Amiens were scarcely signed, when he proceeded to rivet the yoke on the affiliated republics, the absolute independence of which had been guaranteed by the peace of Luneville. In September 1801, a fresh constitution, composed of a legislative body of thirty-five, and a council of state of twelve members, with a president changing every three months, was imposed, at the point of the bayonet, upon Holland; and at the end of the same year, the Cisalpine (now called the *Italian*) Republic was again remodelled by an Assembly of Deputies, which met (Dec. 31) at Lyons. Buonaparte, of course, became president of the republic, and nominated Count Melzi, a great proprietor in Lombardy, and a man of high talents and character, as his vice-president; while the election of the seventy-five members who were to compose the legislative body was vested in three electoral colleges, of proprietors, members of the learned professions, and merchants. The incorporation of Piedmont with France, by a simple decree,

(Sept. 11, 1802,) and the occupation of Parma and Piacenza, completed the French ascendancy in Northern Italy; and its subjection was further secured by the construction of the splendid roads over Mont Cenis and the Simplon, which were finished in three years, and which afforded facilities at all times for the passage of the Alps by an army.

342. During these transactions, the subject of the indemnities, which by the treaty of Lunéville were to be provided for the German princes dispossessed by the extension of France to the Rhine, was giving rise to vehement discussions. The method by which this was to be accomplished was principally the *secularisation* of the ecclesiastical sovereignties—in other words, the spoliation of the church, in order to find equivalents for the conquests of France; but the partition was not so easily arranged. The seven years' discreditable neutrality of Prussia was rewarded by the warm support of her claims by France, with which Russia (in pursuance of the secret treaty of 1801) acted in concert; and she eventually acquired the bishoprics of Paderborn and Hildesheim, with other cities and abbeys, to the amount of more than four times what she had lost on the left bank of the Rhine; and large shares of the spoils were allotted to Bavaria and Würtemberg. The interests of Austria, in the first place, had been almost wholly overlooked; and though the Emperor, as head of the Germanic body, had appointed a conference at Ratisbon in August for the settlement of the indemnities, the different powers were proceeding (in disregard of the Imperial mandate) to occupy the districts assigned to them in the secret treaties, when Austria boldly interposed by taking military possession of Passau, which the Elector of Bavaria was on the point of appropriating. An angry correspondence ensued; but the spirited conduct of Austria had its effect—the conferences were opened at Ratisbon; and the Emperor received the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, &c., as a compensation for the territories which he resigned, and for the loss of Tuscany by his brother. The arrangements were finally confirmed (Feb. 23, 1803) by the Diet; and thus was formally acknowledged the

principle of indemnifying belligerents for their losses, at the expense not of the vanquished, but of the neutral and weaker powers which had taken no part in the contest. All ideas of international right were thus overturned: it became evident that neutrality was now the most perilous of all courses for a weak state, as no one was thus interested in its preservation; and all Europe prepared to follow the banner of one or the other rival interests.

During these disputes, Buonaparte had leisure to prosecute his ambitious designs regarding Switzerland, in which, from the different races of its inhabitants, French, Italian, and German, and the extraordinary variety of climate, soil, and manners within its boundaries, the rule of a single central democratic government was especially vexatious. The oligarchies of Fribourg and Zurich, and the peasants of the Forest Cantons, alike regretted the ancient federal system, in which each canton had the power of internal legislation for its own peculiar exigencies; and during the four disastrous years following the forcible imposition of the new constitution by French bayonets, the country had been distracted by endless intrigues and internal dissensions. The partisans of the old regime were headed by Aloys Reding, chief of the canton of Schwytz; and his views were not discountenanced by Buonaparte, who wished to see a system established more in harmony with the monarchical institutions which he was restoring at Paris. A counter-revolution was at length (Oct 28, 1801) effected at Berne, and Reding became the head of a new provisional government; but neither Buonaparte, nor either of the contending parties in Switzerland, were satisfied with the constitution now promulgated (Feb. 17, 1802), and it was superseded in May by one framed by Buonaparte himself, in which the executive was vested in a Landamman with two lieutenants, appointed for nine years, with a senate which proposed laws, and a diet which sanctioned them. This constitution, though rejected by the lesser cantons, was accepted by the aristocratic ones; and after its proclamation, the French army of occupation was at length withdrawn.

344. Its departure was instantly followed by the revolt of the Forest Cantons under Reding, (Aug.,) with the view of restoring the old order of things. The mountaineers were everywhere victorious; and the members of the new government were preparing to take refuge in France, when Buonaparte (Oct. 4) addressed to the Swiss, through his aide-de-camp Rapp, a proclamation announcing his intention of interfering to adjust their differences. In vain was the aid of Austria and the other powers invoked against this violation of the treaty of Luneville, which had guaranteed to them the liberty of choosing their own government. Ney, entering the country with 20,000 men, speedily disarmed all opposition; and fifty-six deputies were summoned to Paris, to receive the law from the First Consul. Buonaparte had been reduced to the use of open violence by the failure of his hopes that one of the contending parties would voluntarily invoke his mediation: but his subsequent conduct was marked by unusual moderation; and the constitution, as finally settled, (Act of Mediation, Feb. 19, 1803,) was devised with admirable wisdom and equity. Switzerland was again divided into nineteen cantons, but the subjection of one to another was abrogated: all exclusive privileges were abolished; and the Valais became a separate republic. The chief magistrate of six of the principal cantons, in turn, was Landamman for the year; and the Diet sat year by year at their chief towns. The neutrality of Switzerland was allowed, and the existing contingent of 25,000 men exchanged for a levy of sixteen regiments to be taken into French pay. Still deep indignation was excited through Europe by these arbitrary proceedings; and the continued occupation of Holland by French troops showed that the treaty of Luneville was equally a dead letter in regard to the Batavian republic.

345. During these important events on the Continent, Great Britain was tasting the blessings and tranquillity of peace. Her industry and finances prospered to an extraordinary degree: the cessation of the income-tax conferred comparative affluence on the middle classes; and the extinction of the national debt was con-

fidently anticipated from the operation of the sinking fund, now relieved from the counteracting operation of annual loans. But these flattering prospects were of short duration. Independent of the jealousy felt in Britain at the Continental encroachments of Buonaparte, several causes of irritation soon grew up to impair the good understanding of the two governments. The first of these was the asperity with which the First Consul was attacked in the English newspapers, particularly the French journals published in London; and so deeply was Buonaparte stung by these lampoons, that his minister in London was instructed to make a formal demand for their suppression; and at the same time to require that the Bourbon princes resident in Britain, as well as Georges Cadouhal and his Chouan associates, should be sent out of the country. These extravagant demands, involving the abandonment of the *habeas corpus* and the liberty of the press, were of course refused: and the fact of their having been advanced, only shows Buonaparte's utter ignorance of the action of a free government. But, to remove all grounds for complaint, an action for a libel on the First Consul was brought against Peltier, the editor of the most obnoxious of the French journals. He was found guilty, notwithstanding a splendid display of eloquence in his defence by Sir James Mackintosh; but the breaking out of the war prevented his being brought up for judgment.

346. But more important grounds of quarrel were soon found to widen the breach. The French insisted on the evacuation of Malta, Egypt, and the Cape, to which Great Britain refused to accede till the stipulations of the peace of Luneville had been fulfilled by France; while the mission of Colonel Sebastiani to the Levant, to inquire into the state of Egypt and Syria, proved that the First Consul was far from having abandoned his schemes of Oriental conquest. An angry diplomatic correspondence ensued; and in an interview with the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, (Feb. 21, 1803,) the wrath of Buonaparte broke out with unrestrained violence. Without denying his designs on Egypt, which, he said, "*must sooner or later belong to France*," he insisted on the instant evacuation of Malta as the only means of

preserving peace, and held out vehement menaces of invading Britain in case of a renewal of the war. "I know," he exclaimed, "that myself and great part of the expedition will probably go to the bottom, but I am determined to make the attempt. . . . France, with an army of 480,000 men, and England, with a fleet which is mistress of the seas, might, if they understood each other, govern the world, but by their strife they will overturn it." Hostile preparations were now commenced on both sides; and a message of the King to parliament, in which the probability of war was alluded to, produced a second ebullition of Buonaparte against Lord Whitworth, in which the vehemence of his temper lost sight of all restraints of courtesy or decency. The negotiations, however, were still kept open for nearly two months; but Malta on the one hand, and Holland and Switzerland on the other, proved insuperable obstacles to an arrangement; and on 12th May Lord Whitworth demanded his passports. The declaration of war was followed, on the part of Buonaparte, by the arrest of all the British travelling in France, to the number of above 10,000, mostly of the higher ranks—an act of unnecessary barbarity, which he attempted to justify by alleging the seizure of some French merchant vessels previous to the formal declaration of war, but which, more than anything else excited the subsequent inveterate hostility against him in the public mind of Great Britain.

347. In the parliamentary debates which followed, the most remarkable feature was the altered tone of the Opposition. France had now lost the support of the democratic party throughout Europe, and stood forth merely as a threatening and conquering military power. The preservation of our independence and national honour was felt to be at stake; and though Mr Fox and Mr Wilberforce blamed the haste with which the negotiations had at last been broken off, the war was approved in the Commons by a majority of 398 to 67, and in the Lords by 142 to 10. The soundness of the British policy at this period has since been established by the admissions of Buonaparte himself. His design, as he has told us, was to have remained at peace with

Britain for six or eight years; to have annually built twenty or twenty-five ships of the line; and not to have thrown down the gauntlet till he had eighty or a hundred sail in the Channel ports, to cover the passage of the invading army. "When thus," said he, "England, deprived of the advantages of her insular situation, came to wrestle hand to hand with France, she must have fallen. A nation with a population of seventeen millions must in the end sink before one which commands the resources of forty."

VIII. *Renewal of hostilities—Rupture between Spain and Britain.*

348. Never did the ancient rivalry of France and Britain break forth with more vehemence than on the renewal of the war, after the peace of Amiens. The French, deeming themselves invincible on land, anticipated, in the conquest of Britain, the removal of the last obstacle to their universal dominion; while the British, indignantly hurling back the defiance, referred to their recent triumphs in Egypt as an earnest of victories yet to be obtained. The animosity of the governments was warmly supported by the patriotism and passions of the people, and both entered with heart and soul into the contest.

349. The first military operation of the French was the occupation of Hanover, which was invaded by the corps of Mortier, (May 26.) The Hanoverian army, after a fruitless attempt at resistance, was disbanded, (most of the men afterwards forming the German Legion in the British service;) while the French, in spite of all reclamations, occupied the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg, and forcibly closed the Elbe and Weser against British commerce. The French troops, under St Cyr, at the same time extended themselves throughout Italy; Tarentum and Leghorn were seized, and the British merchandise in their ports confiscated; and by a decree on 23d June, any vessel coming from, or which had touched at, a British port, was declared liable to seizure. Thus commenced the virulent strife so long maintained against the trade of Britain; while gigantic preparations

for invasion were set on foot on the shores of the Channel. The public spirit of France was ardently enlisted in the attempt: the departments vied with each other in contributing vessels, money, and cannon; and the harbour of Brest, where the central rendezvous was fixed, was deepened, extended, and fortified with immense works, by the labour of the soldiers. From Brest to the Texel, every port was filled with prams, flat-bottomed gunboats, and other small craft, which, whenever the British cruizers were blown off their stations by contrary winds, crept along shore to the general point of assemblage; and innumerable transports were collected for the reception of the stores and ammunition. The design of Buonaparte for covering the passage of these forces, has been declared by himself the most profound and nicely calculated which he ever formed. The squadrons from the Spanish and Mediterranean ports were to have effected a general junction in the West Indies: they were then, returning with combined forces to Europe, to have raised successively the blockade of Rochfort, Brest, &c.; and, by their union with the fleets in those harbours, to have formed an irresistible armament, under cover of which the flotilla might effect the passage of the Channel. It will appear in the sequel how nearly this vast design succeeded, and how little the British were aware of the quarter whence danger really threatened them.

1800. To supply the military force necessary, the conscription was enforced with such rigour that the price of a substitute rose to £500; and during the rest of Napoleon's reign never less than half, sometimes nearly the whole of the youth of France, as they annually attained manhood, were absorbed into the ranks. Auxiliary corps were exacted from Switzerland and Italy; and, by treaties with Spain (Oct. 19) and Portugal (Dec. 25) the former power was compelled to pay an annual subsidy of £2,250,000, and the latter one of £640,000, during the continuance of the war. Louisiana, recently acquired from Spain, had been sold to the United States for £2,200,000, as soon as the maritime war made its retention by France hopeless. The revenue of France

for the year amounted to £23,000,000; and there was a regular army of 420,000, yet kept on foot 150,000 of whom were destined for the invasion of Great Britain.

351. But nothing daunted were the British government or people by this formidable array. Fifty thousand men were added to the regular army; and in a few weeks 300,000 volunteers were enrolled, armed, and disciplined, thus superseding the necessity for a compulsory *levée-en-masse*. In the general enthusiasm even the voice of *Emancipation* was stilled—Whigs and Tories stood side by side in the ranks. From being a war of opinions, it had now become a war of nations. Immense exertions were made for restoring the navy (which the ill-judged economy of the two preceding years had suffered to become dilapidated) to its former efficiency; war taxes were imposed to the amount of £12,000,000, and a loan of £12,000,000 was contracted. An abortive attempt at insurrection in Dublin, (July 23,) in which the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Kilwarden) was brutally murdered by the mob, was suppressed without difficulty, and the leaders, Emmet and Russell, executed; and a revolutionary fanatic, named Colonel Despard, who had made a frantic attempt on the life of the King, underwent the same fate in London.

352. The naval operations of the year 1803 were, however, chiefly confined to the capture of most of the French West India islands, and gallant but unimportant attacks on the squadrons of small craft proceeding to Brest. The attack on the *Cherbourg* in the Indian Sea, by a small French naval force under Admiral Lincolns, was repulsed with loss by three merchant vessels, (Feb. 15, 1804,) under the command of the gallant Commodore Boscawen—an exploit which preserved property to the amount of £1,500,000, and excited the greatest satisfaction through the nation. Surinam was taken (May 3) by Sir Samuel Hood; and the land forces for the year were raised to 300,000 men, besides 340,000 volunteers, and 100,000 seamen and marines for the navy—the total expenditure amounting to no less than £53,000,000. But the inadequate amount of the service rendered by these immense forces, joined to the decay of the army under the delusion of a

wretched economy) had been suffered to take place in the navy during the peace, began to excite a general feeling of despondency in the nation ; and it became evident that the ministers, however individually talented or respectable, did not, as a body, possess either the domestic or foreign influence requisite for the crisis. An illness of the King, (Feb.,) partaking of the mental malady which had fifteen years before afflicted him, augmented the panic. A coalition was formed between the Whigs and Tories ; and the ministers resigned on the 12th of May. The new administration, however, was composed wholly of Tories, the King having personal objections to Mr Fox, and several of the late ministry remained in office. Mr Pitt became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer ; Lord Harrowby, foreign secretary ; and Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, in which office his ability and energy speedily shone conspicuous, in the restoration of the navy from the state of unexampled decrepitude into which the miserable parsimony of his predecessors had thrown it ; while the political combinations of Mr Pitt ere long succeeded in resuscitating on the Continent the torpid spirit of resistance to France.

353. In the matter of the German indemnities, as has been noticed, the Emperor Alexander had strongly supported the policy of Buonaparte ; and he had attempted, though in vain, to mediate between France and Great Britain. But the occupation of Hanover and Northern Germany gave great umbrage to Russia ; and the mutual exasperation was so rapidly inflamed by minor differences, that before the end of 1803, M. Markoff was recalled from Paris, leaving only M. d'Oubril as *chargé-d'affaires*. Prussia, which had at first warmly seconded the remonstrances of Russia as to Hanover and Hamburg, was gained over by a hint of her ultimately acquiring the former territory ; and matters were in this state at the execution of the Duke d'Enghien (p. 219.) The court of St Petersburg, in its notes both to the Diet at Ratisbon and the cabinet of the Tuileries, expressed without reserve its horror and indignation at this atrocious deed ; and the correspondence of the two courts began to assume an aspect of direct hostility ;

while the French ministers in vain endeavoured to obtain a set-off, by falsely representing some steps for a counter-revolution in France, taken by Mr Drake and Mr Spencer Smith—the British residents at the courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg—as having for their real object the assassination of the First Consul. At length (July 21, 1804) a most important note was presented by M. d'Oubril, in which, after recapitulating the recent aggressions and encroachments of France, a formal requisition was made for the evacuation of Naples and Northern Germany, and the fulfilment of the promise of an indemnity for the King of Sardinia. As the answer of Talleyrand was unsatisfactory, M. d'Oubril quitted Paris; and it was evident that the open declaration of war was only postponed for a favourable opportunity.

354. Austria, meanwhile, silently occupied in repairing her losses and recruiting her army, persevered in a system of pacific neutrality. The violation of the territory of the empire in the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien was passed over without any open notice; and the assumption of the Imperial title by Buonaparte, which Russia refused to recognise, was acceded to without apparent repugnance. At Berlin, though Haugwitz had now been supplanted in the chief direction of affairs by Count Hardenberg, a statesman decidedly hostile to revolutionary principles, the same temporising policy continued to be pursued; though an event which occurred at this period at first appeared likely to lead to a rupture with France. Sir George Rumbold, the British minister at Hamburg, was arrested there (Oct. 25) by virtue of an order from the French minister of police, and sent as a state prisoner to Paris: but the energetic reclamations of the Prussian ambassador against this flagrant violation of the law of nations, supported by an autograph letter from the King to Buonaparte, procured his release after a few days' detention. It was from Sweden that the first decided symptom of hostility proceeded. Its sovereign, a young prince of ardent and chivalrous character, had from the first shown marked animosity against the revolutionary system, which was further inflamed by the death of the Duke d'Enghien. Buonaparte resented his representations on this

last point, to the Germanic Diet, by publishing in the *Moniteur* articles so personified, that all intercourse ceased between the Emperor at Stralsund and Paris; and Mr Pitt, availing himself of this state of feeling, concluded a treaty with Napoleon (Dec. 3, 1804), which, though ostensibly directed chiefly to commercial objects, contained provisions for a subsidy to Britain for the fortification of Stralsund as a depot for the Hanoverian Legion, with other stipulations of a warlike tendency.

While everything thus indicated an approaching rupture in Europe, Napoleon (now emperor) was exerting himself by every method to excite the military enthusiasm of his own subjects. On the 14th July (the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille) the inauguration of the Legion of Honour took place, with all imaginable pomp, in the splendid church of the Invalids, and shortly after this ceremony, the Emperor repaired to the headquarters of the army at Boulogne. There, on the 16th of August, the day of his tutelar saint, 80,000 soldiers passed in battle array before a lofty throne raised on a platform of earth, where Napoleon, encircled by his ministers and marshals, distributed crosses of the Legion from the helmet of Bayard. The enthusiasm of the soldiers was excited to the highest pitch by the martial magnificence of the scene; but the naval display, which was to have formed part of the pageant, failed from the violence of the wind, and Napoleon could not conceal his chagrin at being thus rudely reminded of his weakness on the other element. From Boulogne he continued his progress to Ostend, everywhere stimulating the preparations and reviewing the troops. Thence proceeding by Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence, he remained there during the autumn, occupied apparently in receiving the adulatory addresses of the provinces and the congratulations of the German princes, but secretly employed in maturing the vast designs which afterwards gave rise to the Confederation of the Rhine. At the approach of winter he returned to Paris, where he celebrated, as will immediately be detailed, the important ceremony of his coronation.

356. The close of the year 1804 was marked by a melancholy event, which led to a war between Great Britain and Spain. The Convention of 19th October 1804, the articles of which were confirmed by the treaty of St Ildefonso, had been containing the basis of a treaty for an annual subsidy of £2,000,000 to Spain. The amount of this tribute, which was to be paid in gold, was to be increased as soon as the British government, through its ambassador, was informed of the protest against it. On the 13th, 1804, an equivalent to a war actually; and though no immediate hostilities followed, the apprehensions of Britain were soon excited, which by the rumours of naval preparations at Cadix, Ferrol, and Cádiz, and orders were given for intercepting the treasure-freight on their way from America, to be held as security for the neutrality of Spain. But the Spanish vessel under Captain Moore, which encountered the four British, was only of equal force; and the Spaniards, of course, refusing to submit under such circumstances, an engagement took place, (Oct. 5, 1804,) in which one of the treasure-ships blew up with most of the crew. The other three, with a treasure valued at more than £2,000,000, were captured; and Spain, very indignant at this act of violence, declared war on the 19th.

357. This unhappy catastrophe produced great division of opinion in Britain, and gave rise to violent debates in parliament; but the government was eventually supported by a large majority in both houses. On reviewing the question at this distance of time, it cannot be denied that, though the conduct of Spain in reference to France might have reasonably occasioned a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, the commencement of hostilities without such a declaration was not warranted, either by the usages of war or by the law of nations; and on this point no defence can be maintained. But the British historian may congratulate himself on the simple statement afterwards made for this act of injustice, that it was the scene of a dark plot of this kind, and that the character of Britain, it was then, and after, the theatre of the most generous devotion and the brightest glory which her history has to record.

IX. *Buonaparte's Assumption of the Imperial Crown.*

258. It would be well for the memory of Napoleon Buonaparte if, after recounting his matchless military glories, and the admirable wisdom of his civil administration, the historian could stop short, and be spared the narration of the dark and bloody deeds which ushered in the Empire. Up to the beginning of 1804, both the army and the people were either reconciled to the consulate for life, or submitted in silence to an authority which they could not resist ; but there were still several among the generals and higher officers who were far from being content with the existing order of things. Bernadotte, though brother-in-law of Joseph Buonaparte, was of this party ; but the head of the republican malcontents was Moreau, whose natural jealousy of Buonaparte was stimulated by the raucour with which his wife regarded the elevation of Josephine. At the same time, a royalist conspiracy had been set on foot in London on the renewal of the war, headed by the Chouan chief Georges Cadouhal, and Pichegru, who had escaped from his South American exile. Fouché, whose unceasing object was to regain the ministry of the police, formed the project of uniting these opposite elements in a plot which might at once ruin both and effect his own restoration ; and his skilfully devised snares were successful. Georges, the Polignacs, Pichegru, and others, secretly landed in France, and repaired to Paris, in order to concert measures with Moreau ; and though they were speedily undeceived in their hopes of the co-operation of that illustrious soldier, the purpose of Fouché was answered. The police still believed Pichegru in London, when Fouché arrived with his revelations, which were rewarded by his reinstatement in office ; and the whole of the suspected persons, to the number of forty-five, were seized, (Feb. 15.) Moreau was arrested a few days afterwards ; and Georges and Pichegru, who at first eluded the police, were secured a fortnight later—the latter being betrayed by a wretch named Leblanc, who had offered him an asylum.

359. The arrest of Moreau struck both the people and the army

with consternation; and it was perhaps well for Buonaparte that so many of the soldiers of Hohenlinden had perished in St Domingo, (p. 204.) But a still further stroke was in preparation, from which the memory of Buonaparte will never recover. The Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke de Bourbon, and a lineal descendant of the great Condé, had accompanied his father's emigration in 1793, and had ever since remained in exile. At this time he was resident at Ettenheim, in the territory of Baden, on the right bank of the Rhine, where he was arrested in his bed on the night of the 15th March by a French force from New Brisach, and carried prisoner to Strasburg. The ground of this outrageous act was the supposed identity of the prince with a mysterious stranger, (afterwards known to be Pichegru,) who had been present at several meetings of the royalist conspirators—his frequent absence from home for the pursuit of field-sports, appearing to strengthen this surmise. His fate was not long delayed. On the 18th he was transferred from Strasburg, and arriving at Paris on the 20th, was instantly sent to Vincennes, where, in pursuance of an order signed by the hand of Buonaparte, he was tried by a military commission on the charge of bearing arms against the Republic. No evidence was adduced, no witnesses were examined: he was at once found guilty, and shot in the ditch of the fortress in the grey of the following morning; and his remains, dressed as they were, were thrown into a grave, which had been dug *before his trial*, on the spot where he fell.

360. Thus perished the Duke d'Enghien, a prince endowed with extraordinary advantages both of person and mind, and his fate must ever remain a dark and indelible blot on the renown of Buonaparte. It was in truth a most foul and iniquitous murder, and was so stigmatised by a great majority even of the French: the courts of Europe openly expressed their horror, and the detestation which had been hitherto felt throughout the Continent for the atrocities of the Revolution, in general was transferred to the person of the First Consul, who was thenceforward popularly regarded as the symbol of dark and malignant cruelty.

But this tragedy was soon followed by another. On the morning of the 8th April, Pichegru was found dead in prison, strangled by a silk handkerchief twisted round his neck by a small stick. It was given out that he had committed suicide; but if we follow the axiom of Machiavel, "when you would discover the author of a crime, consider who had an interest to commit it"—moral presumption weighs heavily against the First Consul. Pichegru's undaunted character, and his avowed determination to speak out boldly on his trial, had awakened the fears of the government, which dreaded the effect of his revelations, and it was known that his examinations had totally failed in eliciting anything to implicate Moreau. The belief in his assassination was general; and the populace, from the remarkable method of his death, attributed it to the Mamlukes whom Buonaparte had brought from Egypt.

361. At length (May 2^d) Moreau, Georges, the two Polignacs, La Rivière, and the rest of the accused, were brought to trial, amidst a vast concourse of spectators, who viewed with indignation the victor of Hohenlinden seated among men whom they regarded as the hired bravos of Britain. The trial lasted twelve days; but notwithstanding the anxiety of the First Consul to procure the conviction of Moreau, his innocence was so manifest that he was sentenced only to two years' imprisonment, the judges not daring to acquit him altogether. Georges and fifteen others were sentenced to death, but seven of these were pardoned by Buonaparte; the remainder were executed on the Place de Grève, (June 25,) meeting their fate with heroic fortitude. Georges, in particular, whom the First Consul struck with admiration of his unbending firmness, had been anxious to attach to his service, insisted on dying first, that his comrades might see that he had not proved false to them at the last hour.

362. Any capital condemnation of Moreau would probably have caused a violent commotion, from his high popularity both among the people and the army; and Buonaparte always asserted, that it was never his intention to let him perish on the scaffold, but only to extinguish his influence by the brand which

would thus be affixed to his name. After the sentence, he acted with indulgence to his fallen rival, whom he at once permitted to retire to America—purchasing his estate, and defraying the expenses of his journey to Barcelona for embarkation. One other deed of darkness belongs to this period. Captain Wright, from whose vessel Pichogru had disembarked, was wrecked on the French coast, and brought with his crew to Paris, where they were examined as witnesses against Georges. He refused, however, to give evidence, and was soon after found in his cell in the Temple with his throat cut. The French authorities, of course, ascribed his death to his own hand, but his character and other circumstances rendered this extremely improbable; and there can be little doubt that he was cut off to prevent his subsequently revealing the secrets of his prison-house, or possibly, as was asserted in Britain at the time, to destroy the traces of torture on his person.

363. It was in the midst of these bloody events that Buonaparte assumed the imperial crown. The project had been first broached by himself to the Senate, shortly after the death of the Duke d'Enghien; and as that obsequious body immediately entered into his views, it was resolved that it should be brought forward in the Tribunal, which, since its curtailment in numbers, had been an equally facile instrument of his will. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, the subject was moved in the Hall of the Tribunal by Curée and Tréneon, who urged that "it was only by placing the crown on the head of the First Consul that the dignity, the independence, and the territory of the French people could be preserved;" and concluded their harangues by proposing, that "we lay before the Senate the wish of the nation that Napoleon Buonaparte, now First Consul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French Republic, and that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family." Carnot, with honest consistency, still stood forward in opposition, but his voice was solitary in the Tribunal: in the Council of State the question was carried by twenty to seven; and addresses flowed in from all quarters—

from the municipalities, the army, the cities, the public bodies—all vying with each other in the strains of servile adulation. The decree of the Senate at length appeared, (May 18,) declaring Napoleon Emperor of the French, and was accepted by the new monarch with suitable solemnity. The hereditary succession was referred to the people, and the result of the registers was 3,572,329 affirmative votes, and only 2569 in the negative. History affords no instance of a nation so unanimously taking refuge in the stillness of despotism.

364. The first step of Napoleon was to confer on eighteen* of his most distinguished generals the rank of marshals of the empire; his brothers and sisters were at the same time created "imperial highnesses;" and the titles of "serene highness" and "monseigneur" were revived for the great dignitaries of the state. The etiquette of the court was fixed with as much precision as in the ancient Byzantine empire. "Whoever," says Madame de Stael, "could suggest an additional point of form, was received as if he had been a benefactor to the human race." The ceremony of the coronation was, however, deferred till the return of Napoleon, in the autumn, from his triumphal tour to Boulogne and the Rhine, when it was celebrated with extraordinary pomp (Dec. 2) in the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame. To recall, as Napoleon was anxious to do on every occasion, the memory of Charlemagne, the first French emperor of the West, the Pope had been invited, with an urgency which it would not have been prudent to resist, to be present at the consecration, and had accordingly crossed the Alps for the purpose. His participation, however, extended only to the benediction; and it was by the hand of Napoleon himself that the crowns were placed on his own head and that of Josephine, in the midst of all that the empire could display of luxury and magnificence.

365. The multitude, though dazzled by the spectacle, showed little of the enthusiasm evinced on former occasions; but this

* Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brunne, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

was amply atoned for by the fervent acclamations of the troops on the following day, when Napoleon, in the Champ de Mars, distributed to the regiments the eagles which were thenceforward to form the standards of the army. A series of fêtes followed, which lasted upwards of two months, and in which the splendour of the new court was displayed with a lustre to which Paris had long been a stranger. In the midst of this turmoil of exultation, a protest was issued by Louis XVIII. from the shores of the Baltic, in terms worthy the illustrious line he represented, against this fresh usurpation of his rights; but so little was it regarded by the French government, that they directed its publication in the *Moniteur*! Who could then foresee that the bones of Louis XVIII. would rest in the royal vaults of St Denis, and those of Napoleon under a willow at St Helena!

PART V.

FROM BUONAPARTE'S ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN
TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT.—1803-7.

I. *Threatened Invasion of England—Battle of Trafalgar.*

366. NAPOLEON was well aware that he held the throne only on the condition of constantly feeding the vanity of the French by a succession of glories and victories, and that war was therefore necessary to his existence. But as it was necessary to disguise this perilous fact, it was his usual policy to make proposals to the most inveterate of his enemies at the moment when he perceived a general war to be inevitable: and in pursuance of this system, he now (Jan. 2, 1805) a second time personally addressed a letter to the King of Great Britain, containing overtures for an accommodation. The answer, addressed by Lord Mulgrave to Talleyrand, by declining to give a specific answer without communicating with the Continental powers, and particularly with Russia, revealed the existence of a fresh coalition; and the

Russian alliance was openly announced in the King's speech at the meeting of parliament (Jan. 15). The confidential negotiations which at this time took place with the Russian ambassador in London are remarkable as embodying the basis on which the arrangements at the Congress of Vienna, ten years later, were mainly formed—and from which Great Britain never subsequently for one moment swerved, however hopeless their attainment might appear. A treaty was at the same time (Jan. 14) concluded between Russia and Sweden, and a Russian corps disembarked in Pomerania, to act in conjunction with the Swedish forces; but this step was viewed with jealousy by Prussia, and strengthened the fatal French leaning in the Berlin cabinet. Meanwhile the finances of France rapidly improved under the judicious system of indirect taxation recently introduced; and the flourishing condition of the empire, as it appeared in the report laid before the Chambers (Dec. 31, 1804) by the Minister of the Interior, drew forth the celebrated eulogium on Napoleon—"The first place was vacant—the most worthy was called to fill it: he has only dethroned anarchy."

367. The spring of 1805 was spent by Napoleon in consolidating his power in all the affiliated republics surrounding the French frontier. The democracy of Holland was first overthrown, (March 22,) and M. Schomelpennineck, an able and respectable man, invested with the whole direction of affairs, by the old title of Grand Pensionary—a change sufficiently distasteful to the revolutionary party, but which gratified the Orangeists and partisans of the old regime. More important changes soon ensued in the Italian States. Count Melzi, and the other deputies of the Italian Republic who attended the imperial coronation at Paris, secretly instructed for the purpose, produced before the French Senate (March 18) an Act of Settlement, declaring Napoleon King of Italy, with succession to his male heirs; and the new order of things was solemnly proclaimed at Milan on 31st March, Eugene Beauharnais acting as Viceroy. Napoleon forthwith set out in a sort of triumphal progress, for Italy, by the route of Lyons and Turin; and after witnessing a splendid military

pageant on the field of Marengo, made his public entry into Milan, (May 8.) The iron crown of the ancient Lombard kings was drawn forth from its repose of a thousand years in the treasury at Monza, and Napoleon placed it on his own head (May 26) in the superb cathedral of Milan, pronouncing at the same time the traditionary formula, "God gave it me—woe to him who touches it!" The blaze of splendour at the ceremony surpassed even the coronation at Notre Dame; and the Italians, whose ardent imaginations were captivated by the brilliancy of the fêtes, and by the noble additions to the public buildings planned by the new monarch, fondly believed that the reign of the Transmontanes had ceased for ever. The wisdom and moderation of Eugene's internal government, the animation consequent on the residence of his court, and the immense public improvements everywhere set on foot, contributed to maintain and extend this feeling; and, despite the heavy burdens then imposed on them, they still look back with regret to the "Kingdom of Italy" as the brightest period of their modern existence.

368. During his residence at Milan, a deputation arrived from the Ligurian Republic of Genoa, which had been commanded to solicit incorporation with France; and the decree carrying this measure into effect appeared on 9th June. The territory formed three new departments: and on the 30th of the same month its union with France was solemnised by the triumphal entry of Napoleon, amid fêtes to which the romantic situation of the city gave unrivalled lustre. The fate of this venerable republic was soon shared by that of Lucca, which, with Piombino, was erected into a principality for Eliza, sister of the Emperor; Parma and Placentia were soon after incorporated with France;—and such was the issue of the saying of Napoleon, nine years before, that the days were past in which republics could be swallowed up by monarchies!

369. Those strides towards universal dominion, particularly in Italy, raised to high the indignation of the Austrian nobles that Cobentzeil, the head of the pacific party, found himself compelled to retire from office, and a speedy declaration of war became

inevitable. From the dilapidated state, however, of the Imperial finances, it was not till August that the accession of Austria was formally given in to the offensive and defensive alliance which had already (April 11) been concluded between Russia and Britain—when the Emperor Francis, on the promise of a subsidy of £2,000,000, agreed to raise his army to 320,000 effective troops, and a convention with Sweden was signed at Hamburg, (August 31,) by which Great Britain agreed to pay \$1500 monthly for every thousand men employed in the common cause. The accession of Prussia was earnestly solicited; but though she endeavoured to interpose as a mediator, all the representations of the Russian envoy, Novosiltzoff, on the necessity of opposing a barrier to France, failed to overcome the temptation of the bait held out to her from the Tuileries, of the acquisition of Hanover, and she remained firm to the French alliance. Still the genius and influence of Mr Pitt had once more succeeded in combining the discordant elements of European power in a firm coalition against French encroachment, and in assembling forces which, if properly directed, would have proved amply sufficient for the deliverance of Europe.

370. These threatening appearances on the Continent did not, however, for a moment divert Buonaparte from his projected descent on Britain; and, shortly after his return from Italy, he repaired to the camp at Boulogne. Never, since the days of the Roman legions, had an army at once so numerous and so perfectly organised been assembled. The whole force in the various camps amounted to 155,000 men, with 14,654 horses and 432 pieces of cannon. Provisions for three months, and munitions of war to an unexampled extent, were ready to accompany the army in its embarkation; and 2293 vessels, 1339 of which were armed, were prepared as transports. A new system of organisation, analogous in many points to that of the Romans, and which has never since been departed from in the French army, was now first introduced: a corps of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, under a marshal, consisted of four or five divisions of from 5000 to 7000, commanded by generals of division—the Imperial

Guard being considered as the reserve of the whole army, under the immediate orders of the Emperor. Each corps had its proportion of artillery and light cavalry, (the heavy cavalry forming a separate corps,) and was thus complete in itself—the regiments, except in cases of absolute necessity, were never transferred from their original divisions, nor the divisions from their corps. Thus the generals knew all their officers, and the officers their soldiers; and a pervading spirit of discipline was kept up between the different regiments of a division, the different divisions, and the different corps—while so incessant was the personal superintendence of the Emperor on every point, that it was a common saying, that every officer who had anything of importance to perform imagined that care exclusively directed to himself. The organisation of the flotilla was equally perfect; and so complete were all the arrangements, that it was found by experience that 25,000 men, drawn up opposite the vessels, could be entirely embarked in ten minutes.

371. The immense accumulation of gun-boats and armed vessels, however, was only a veil for the real design of Napoleon, which has been previously detailed (p. 212.) The Spanish navy was now at his disposal as well as that of France; and the British blockading squadrons, barely equal respectively to the force which each watched, were utterly unable to prevent its junction with any superior fleet which might approach. In January, therefore, the Toulon and Rochfort squadrons were ordered to sail for the West Indies, there to effect their junction: the latter, under Admiral Missiessy, effected its passage, and, after some unimportant operations, returned to Europe in the beginning of April; but the Toulon force, under Villeneuve, had been shattered by a gale and forced to return, and did not finally get to sea till the 30th March. It succeeded in forcing the blockade of Cadiz, which was guarded by only five British ships under Sir John Orde; and the combined French and Spanish fleets, amounting to 18 ships of the line and 10 frigates, with 10,000 troops on-board, steered for the West Indies; whither Nelson, having with great difficulty learned their route, boldly followed.

with only ten sail of the line and three frigates, and arrived at Barbadoes, (June 4.) But the enemy, reinforced by two more ships, had sailed from Martinique for Europe, (May 28,) having received the secret orders of Napoleon, which were—first, to release the ten Spanish and five French ships blockaded in Ferrol; next, to join the Rochfort squadron of five sail more—and with the united fleet, which would now amount to forty sail of the line, steer to Brest, where Gantheaume awaited them with twenty-one. At the head of this overwhelming force Villeneuve was to proceed to Boulogne, and cover the passage of the invading flotilla.

372. Hitherto the British government had never suspected the hidden scheme of Napoleon, which appeared fast approaching completion. Villeneuve was returning to Europe, leaving Nelson behind in the West Indies; and the success of the remaining movements appeared almost inevitable. But Nelson no sooner ascertained the direction taken by the enemy, than, at once perceiving that some ulterior combination was implied by their retreat before a fleet not half their force, he sailed in pursuit the same day, (June 13;) at the same time despatching several fast-sailing craft to put the British government on its guard. One of these reached London (July 9) in twenty-five days from Antigua; and the Admiralty instantly sent orders to Admiral Stirling to leave his station before Rochfort, and, joining Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol, to cruise off Cape Finisterre for Villeneuve. So little time was there to spare that the united British force, of fifteen sail, had hardly reached its cruising ground when the Allied fleets hove in sight, (July 22,) consisting of twenty sail of the line, a fifty-gun ship, and seven frigates. Sir Robert Calder immediately made the signal for action, but the foggy state of the weather threw both fleets into disorder; and though two Spanish line-of-battle ships were captured, the action was not renewed on the following day; and Villeneuve, after leaving three disabled ships at Vigo, reached Ferrol on the 2d of August.

373. Napoleon was transported with rage on first learning that Villeneuve had taken shelter in Ferrol, and sent peremptory

orders that he should instantly put to sea again, and effect his junction, at all risks, with the Brest fleet. He accordingly sailed with twenty-nine ships of the line ; but Sir Robert Calder, with a force now raised to twenty sail, had by this time returned to the station ; and Villeneuve, fearing his encounter, tacked and made sail for Cadiz, which he reached August 21, the very day he was expected at Brest. Nelson, meanwhile, had recrossed the Atlantic, and after cruising along the Spanish and French coasts without meeting the enemy, arrived (July 17) at Portsmouth, where he was welcomed with unbounded enthusiasm. Sir Robert Calder's action of 22d July, by thwarting Napoleon's combinations when on the point of success, and affording time for the return of Nelson to Europe, had saved the country ; but so little was this service appreciated by the public that Sir Robert found himself compelled, by the popular clamour, to retire and demand a court-martial, by which he was "severely reprimanded for not having done his utmost to renew the engagement."

374. The blockading squadron before Cadiz had meanwhile been augmented to twenty-nine sail of the line, and placed under command of Nelson ; and so great was the terror of his name that Villeneuve, in spite of the positive orders of Napoleon, and the scarcity of provisions which began to be felt, hesitated to sail, though he had thirty-three ships out of forty ready for sea. By appearing to detach part of his fleet, Nelson at last succeeded in overcoming his irresolution. Leaving the harbour (Oct. 19) to the number of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates, the Allied fleet came in sight of the British at daybreak on the 21st, a few leagues N.W. of Cape Trafalgar. As the British were to windward, Villeneuve determined to lie in close order, and await their attack ; while Nelson, having hoisted his last ever-memorable signal, "England expects every man to do his duty," bore down in two lines perpendicularly on the enemy—himself in the Victory leading one column of thirteen sail, while Collingwood headed the other, of fourteen ships, in the Royal Sovereign. The latter ship, far outailing the rest, steered right into the hostile line :

and engaging the *Santa Anna*, the flag-ship of Admiral Alava, so close that their yards locked, for twenty minutes singly sustained the fire of this huge vessel, as well as of four others which came to her aid. During this time Nelson, baffled by the lightness of the wind, had been slowly advancing under a tremendous concentric fire from seven or eight ships, till at one o'clock he succeeded in breaking the French line, on one side engaging the *Bucentaur* and the *Santissima Trinidad*, and on the other grappling the *Redoubtable*; while Captain Harvey, in the *Temeraire*, fell on board the same vessel on the other quarter. The fire from the *Redoubtable's* ports was soon silenced, but the marksmen in her tops still kept up a deadly discharge; and a shot from one of them ere long pierced Nelson with a mortal wound, on the quarterdeck of the *Victory*. He was immediately carried below, but insisted that the surgeon should continue to attend to the other wounded: "For me," said he, "you can do nothing."

375. The battle continued with unabated fury; and as the whole British force got into action, the superiority of British skill soon became apparent. At a quarter past two, the *Santa Anna* struck to the *Royal Sovereign*; at three o'clock ten ships had surrendered; the *Redoubtable* was at length carried by boarding by the *Temeraire*; and the *Santissima Trinidad*, dismasted and wholly disabled, yielded to the *Prince*. At the close of the day the victory was complete. Admiral Gravina escaped with nine ships into Cadiz; and Admiral Dumanoir, with four French ships, stood to the north, and got clear off for the time: but the remaining twenty ships had struck, (one of which, the *Achille*, blew up soon after she surrendered,) and Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, the Spanish admirals Alava and Cisneros, and 20,000 prisoners, were in the hands of the victors—the loss of the British being only 1690 killed and wounded. Nelson survived his wound long enough to know that a glorious victory had been gained, and that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy were taken: "That's well," said he, "but I bargained for twenty,"—and at half-past four he expired without a groan, repeatedly murmur-

ing in his last moments, "Thank God, I have done my duty!"

376. It had been Nelson's dying order to bring the fleet to anchor. This, however, was impossible: and in consequence many of the prizes either foundered or were wrecked in a heavy gale, on the morning of the 22d: others were sunk by the British; and only four were brought to Gibraltar in safety. But this loss was in part compensated by the capture of Dumanoir's four ships, which, in attempting to reach Rochfort, were encountered off Cape Ortegal (Nov. 4) by a British squadron of equal force under Sir Richard Strachan, and all taken. An exchange of courtesies was in the meanwhile taking place between the British and the Spanish at Cadiz. Collingwood released all the wounded Spaniards on their parole—an act of generosity responded to on the part of the Spanish governor by the offer of their hospitals for the use of the British wounded; and the British sailors who were wrecked in the prizes were received and treated as friends. Thus, amid the tempests of Trafalgar, were produced those feelings between these generous enemies which brought them to stand side by side at Vittoria and Toulouse.

377. The victory of Trafalgar had annihilated the French and Spanish navies—and the British Isles, freed from the danger of invasion, passed at once from a state of anxious solicitude to tranquil security. Yet the feeling of grief for the loss of the hero by whom these blessings had been gained, almost overweighed that of exultation; and all the honours which a grateful country could bestow were heaped on his memory. A public funeral was decreed to him; his brother was created an earl, with a pension of £6000 a-year, and a grant of £100,000 for an estate: and Collingwood also received a peerage and a pension. Lord Nelson was, in truth, the greatest naval officer of this or any other age or nation; and if a veil could be drawn over his deeds at Naples, his public character might be deemed perfect. His devotion to his country was constantly blended with a sense of religious duty: and conceiving himself, in his latter years, an instrument in the hand of Providence to combat the infidel spirit

of the Revolution, he directed to this object the whole of his unrivalled powers and consummate talents.

II. Campaign of Austerlitz.

378. The importance of Sir R. Calder's action of 22d July had been instantly perceived by Napoleon, who, from the moment when he heard that the combined fleet was in Cadiz, saw that his deep-laid schemes of invasion were for ever frustrated. The coalition, instead of being crushed on the banks of the Thames, was now to be anticipated on those of the Danube: but the preparations for embarkation at Boulogne were still kept up with redoubled activity as a disguise; till, on 1st September, when the soldiers were hourly expecting the order to go on board, the Emperor suddenly set out for Paris, and the whole force was put in motion for the Rhine.

379. Since the assumption of the iron crown by Napoleon, and the incorporation of Genoa, Parma, and Placentia with his dominions, the question of a war with Austria had been only one of time, and the mask was at last dropped on both sides. In the belief that the British expedition was occupying the Emperor and the flower of his troops, 80,000 Imperialists under Mack crossed the Inn (Sept. 9) and entered Bavaria—the Elector of which, after much hesitation, had given his adhesion to France—and continued their advance unchecked to the defiles of the Black Forest. The forces of the coalition were formidable, amounting in all to 350,000 men—whereof 30,000 were under the Archduke John in the Tyrol, and 90,000 under the Archduke Charles in Italy; but the Russians, 116,000 of whom were advancing through Poland, could not come up for two months, and the object of Napoleon was to crush the advanced army in Bavaria before their arrival. For this purpose the army of England from Boulogne, and the corps from Holland and Hanover, in all 190,000 men, were set in motion; the Bavarians and other German allies were 24,000, and the army of Italy 35,000, besides 15,000 in Naples—forming a total of

270,000 men. In addition to all these forces, a conscription of 80,000 was ordered from those who would attain the military age in 1806 (a proof that France was already overtaxing her military strength)—the national guards were reorganised—and Napoleon, having taken leave of the Senate in an energetic address, set out for Strasburg.

380. Negotiations meanwhile continued between France and Prussia: but though Frederick William positively refused to allow the passage of the Russian armies through his territory, he was equally unwilling, on the other hand, to provoke hostilities with the Czar by throwing himself into the arms of France; and, during this unworthy vacillation, 180,000 French, divided into eight corps, under as many marshals, were rapidly converging, by various routes through France, Flanders, and Northern Germany, to Ulm, where it was already foreseen by Napoleon that the decisive blow would be struck. The daily march of every regiment had been previously laid down, and was fulfilled with undeviating accuracy; and before it was known either at London or Vienna that they had broken up from Boulogne, they were far advanced towards the Rhine. The corps of Bernadotte, from Hanover, marching straight for the Danube near Ingolstadt, cut off the communication between the Austrians at Ulm and their own country; but, in the execution of this manœuvre, it was necessary to disregard the neutrality of Prussia by crossing the territory of Anspach—an outrage which produced a violent outbreak of popular indignation at Berlin, where the Queen, Prince Louis, and Baron Hardenberg openly advocated an immediate war with France. But the time was not yet come when Prussia was to atone for her past vacillation and duplicity.

381. Napoleon arrived at Strasburg on 27th September, and after addressing an energetic proclamation to his troops, and to his new allies the Bavarians, put himself at the head of the main army, which pressed forward on both banks of the Danube towards Ulm. Bernadotte had meanwhile crossed the river at Donauwerth and Ingolstadt, and Augsburg had been occupied (Oct. 12) by Marmont and Soult, before Mack was in the least

aware of his imminent peril. The corps of Auffenberg, on its march from the Tyrol, was enveloped and almost destroyed near Donauwörth (Oct. 7.) by the cavalry of Murat; and though an Austrian corps gained an advantage at Hasslach (Oct. 11) over the division of Dupont, the French combinations, aided by their superiority of force, proved irresistible. Four thousand Imperialists laid down their arms (Oct. 13) at Memmingen; the bridge of Gunzburg, by which a line of retreat was still open towards Bohemia, had been captured by Ney, (Oct. 9.) after a gallant defence by the Austrians; and the circle of investment was speedily completed round Ulm, where 50,000 Austrians were completely surrounded by twice their number of French.

382. The first attack on the outposts took place on the 14th, when the corps of Ney (afterwards made Duke of Elchingen in memory of this exploit) succeeded, after a desperate conflict which lasted the whole day, in occupying the bridge and abbey of Elchingen, which formed an important link in the chain of defences. But, during this engagement, the Archduke Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the cavalry and light troops, had issued from the lines, and attempted to cut his way through to Bohemia. Stimulated by the hope of capturing a prince of the house of Hapsburg, Murat pressed the pursuit with unexampled vigour and celerity. Werneck, overtaken and surrounded at Trochtelfingen, was compelled to surrender with 8000 men; but the Archduke himself, with a few hundred followers, made good his retreat by Ratisbon to the Imperial frontier, (Oct. 18.) Meanwhile the heights round Ulm (the defences on which, destroyed by the French when yielded to them by the armistice of September 1800, had been only imperfectly restored) had been carried by storm, and Napoleon, on the 18th, summoned Mack to surrender.

383. The conduct of Mack in this trying crisis at once betrayed his irresolution; * while, in a proclamation to his troops, he de-

* Mack was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment as a traitor, but there appears no just reason to suspect this luckless general of anything worse than weakness and incapacity.

nounced the idea of submission under pain of death, and predicted the speedy advance of the Russians to raise the blockade, he at the same time agreed to surrender unless relieved within eight days; but on the 19th, after signing this convention, he repaired to Napoleon's headquarters at Elchingen; where the Emperor so completely terrified and bewildered him, by representations of his hopeless condition, that he at last agreed to surrender on the next day. On the 20th October, accordingly, Napoleon, surrounded by a brilliant staff, took his post on an eminence north of the city; and saw the garrison, 30,000 strong, with 60 pieces of cannon, file off and lay down their arms before him—a spectacle unparalleled in modern warfare. He addressed himself to the captive Austrian generals in terms of studied moderation:—“I know not for what reason your Emperor wages war against me. . . . I want nothing on the Continent; it is *ships, colonies, and commerce, which I need*,”—words, memorable in themselves, and doubly so from having been uttered the day before the empire of the seas was for ever wrested from his grasp at Trafalgar! But little disturbed by any anticipation of calamity, the Emperor fostered the enthusiasm of the French people by sending to Paris forty standards taken from the Austrians; the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg received shares of the captured artillery and ammunition; and a fresh proclamation to the troops commemorated the triumphs of the fifteen days' campaign, which it was indeed scarcely possible to exaggerate. With the loss of scarcely 8000 men, 80,000 of the enemy had been taken or destroyed!

384. While Mack, with 80,000 men, had been pushed forward in Germany to the encounter of twice his number, the Archduke Charles, who was at the head of 90,000 on the Adige, was kept, by the orders of the Aulic Council, on the defensive before Massena, who had only 50,000. The French general at length boldly took the initiative by storming the bridge of Verona, (Oct. 18,) but the Austrian main force lay in the impregnable position of Caldiero; and though severe actions ensued, (Oct. 28-30,) the advantage decidedly remained with the Imperialists, till the confirmation

of the disasters in Germany determined the Archduke to retreat, in order to cover Vienna. This retrograde movement was executed with consummate skill and complete success: the retiring columns reached Laybach in safety, (Nov. 12,) and were joined, a few days after, by the Archduke John, with the remains of his army from the Tyrol. After a struggle of three weeks, the Imperialists had been driven from that province by the Bavarians and the corps of Marshal Ney; the divisions of Jellachich and Rohan, together numbering 11,000 men, had been forced to capitulate; the fortress of Kuffstein had surrendered, and Innspruck, with all its arsenals, had been taken. Napoleon, meanwhile, had continued his march through Bavaria; on the 31st October, his troops crossed the Inn at all points; and after occupying the fortresses of Braunau and Muhl Dorf, which had been deserted by their garrisons, had established his headquarters at Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria. Here he received Count Giulay, who came to propose an armistice; but as Napoleon insisted on the dismissal of the Russian auxiliaries, and the cession of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, the attempt at negotiation proved fruitless.

395. The court of Berlin, however, had taken umbrage, to an extent hardly to be anticipated, at the violation of the territory of Anspach, which at once revealed the low estimation to which Prussia had been sunk by her vacillating policy. An allied force of 30,000 British, Russians, and Swedes, landed in Hanover, and besieged Hameln, the only fortress whence the French troops had not been withdrawn, without any opposition from the Prussians; and the arrival of the Emperor Alexander at this crisis (Oct. 25) at Berlin, added fuel to the flame. Duroc, finding his influence at an end, quitted the capital; and a convention was concluded, (Nov. 2,) to which the two monarchs solemnly pledged themselves at the tomb of the Great Frederick, for the re-arrangement of Europe on the basis of the treaty of Luneville. Haugwitz was dispatched to notify this treaty to Napoleon, with an intimation that, in case of its refusal, hostilities would commence, (Dec. 5,) but before the arrival of that day the aspect of affairs had undergone a fresh change.

386. The advanced corps of the Russians, under Kutusoff, had discontinued their forward progress on hearing of the fall of Ulm, and Napoleon's aim was now to crush them before their main army could come up to their support. But the Russian general, withdrawing his whole force to the left bank of the Danube, burned the bridge of Mantern, the only one between Linz and Vienna; and Mortier, who was intrusted with the pursuit, was routed and almost overwhelmed (Nov. 11) between Stein and Diernstein, (the scene of the captivity of *Cœur-de-Lion*), by the Russian rearguard under Milaradovitch and Doctoroff, and was driven over to the right bank with the loss of 3000 men. The result of this his first encounter with the Russians gave Napoleon serious vexation; but his route now lay open to Vienna, whence the Emperor Francis had already withdrawn. The advanced corps, under Lannes and Murat, entered the Austrian capital at daybreak, (Nov. 13,) and succeeded, by the audacious stratagem of a feigned armistice, in seizing the bridge over the Danube—thus cutting off the communication between the Russians in Bavaria and the army advancing from Italy under the Archduke Charles. The pursuit of Kutusoff was resumed with redoubled vigour, and Murat a second time attempted the device of a fraudulent armistice; but the finesse which had succeeded with the unsuspecting Austrians failed to deceive the wily Muscovite, who held the French in parley while he gained twenty hours' march. Bagnathion's corps of 8000 men, which had been left as a blind in the presence of the French, made good its retreat after losing half its number in a desperate struggle with the whole French force; and the junction of the Russian armies was effected (Nov. 19) at Wischau in Moravia.

387. Napoleon had fixed his residence at the imperial palace of Schönbrunn, near Vienna, whence he directed enormous contributions to be levied on the inhabitants, besides the confiscation of the immense stores in the arsenals; but the most strict discipline was enforced among the troops, and all private plunder strictly prohibited. His situation, however, was now one of extreme difficulty: besides the Russians concentrated in Moravia,

where the Czar had arrived in person, the Archduke Charles was rapidly advancing from Italy, the Hungarians were arming *en masse*, and a declaration of war might be daily expected from Prussia—while only 70,000 men remained disposable, after guarding the vast line of communication from Vienna to the Rhine. He forthwith put himself, therefore, at the head of his army, fixing his headquarters at Brunn, whence several messages passed between him and Alexander. But these delusive overtures were only intended to mislead the Russians into a belief of the trepidation of the French, and induce them to commence operations without waiting for the Archduke or the Hungarians; and in this he was completely successful. Pressed by the scarcity of provisions in a country where they had no magazines, the Allies moved on the 27th November, in order to cut off the French from Vienna, and open up their own communications with the advancing Archduke; and after some unimportant movements the French fell back, and concentrated themselves (Nov. 30) at Austerlitz—a position which the Emperor had some days previously pointed out to his generals as the probable scene of a decisive engagement.

388. The manœuvres of Napoleon had been directed to lead the enemy into attempting to turn his right, in doing which he foresaw that they must expose themselves to be assailed in flank; and perceiving them (Dec. 1) commencing this false movement, he exclaimed in inexpressible exultation, "Before to-morrow night that army is mine!" The whole of that day he employed in visiting the various posts, and encouraging the men; and long after nightfall he continued his inspection, by the light of the fires which the soldiers kindled in their bivouacs—while his presence, wherever he passed, was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm by the assembled battalions. On the morning of the 1st, the sun rose with uncommon brilliancy, ("the sun of Austerlitz" was afterwards a proverb in the French army,) showing the heights of Pratzen, the centre and key of the hostile position, deserted by the enemy, who were beginning to move in five columns round the French right at Telnitz. So violent was

their onset that the French recoiled before it; but the corps of Davoust, which Napoleon had purposely posted in reserve behind the abbey of Ruggern, valiantly withstood the assailants; while the hill of Pratzen was seized by Soult, who thus cut in two the Russian line, and maintained his position against all their efforts to retake it. A furious charge of the Russian cuirassiers of the Guard, under the Grand-duke Constantine, broke the French advance on the left; but this gallant body of horse, after a desperate struggle, gave way before the cavalry of the French Imperial Guard, led by Bessières and Rapp; and the rout of the whole army, pierced through the centre and shattered into fragments, became irretrievable. Their right wing, surrounded on all sides by Davoust and Lannes, attempted to retreat over a frozen lake; but the ice was broken by the cannonade, and above 2000 men were drowned: the left, though pressed by Murat with his cavalry, and cut off from the road to Olmutz, was formed in close column, and brought off the field by Bagration.

389. So ended the battle of Austerlitz, one of the most glorious of Napoleon's victories, and that in which his military genius was most brilliantly displayed. The Allies had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than 30,000 men, besides 45 standards, and 180 pieces of cannon; and the two Emperors, seeing further resistance hopeless, sent proposals for an armistice, which were instantly accepted. Notwithstanding the magnitude of his success, Napoleon was still in a most perilous position: he could neither retreat without danger, nor follow up the pursuit of the Russians without the certainty of being enveloped by the armies coming up in his rear. The conditions were verbally agreed on in a personal interview with the Emperor Francis, and Presburg fixed as the seat of the negotiations. The Czar was no party to the conference, but Francis stipulated for the unmolested retreat of the Russians; and Alexander set out (Dec. 5) on his return to his own country.

390. Haugwitz had been sent from Berlin, as has been mentioned above, to declare war against France; but, on arriving at the

French camp, he had been referred to Vienna till after the battle. The event of Austerlitz, however, wholly changed his views; he presented his sovereign's congratulations on the victory—a message of which (as Napoleon remarked with caustic severity) “fortune had changed the address”—and, with matchless effrontery, proceeded to set the seal to the infamy of Prussia, by formally accepting Hanover in exchange for some of its southern possessions, which were ceded to France and Bavaria—the treaty being signed on 15th December, the very day on which hostilities were to have commenced. The negotiations at Presburg, meanwhile, dictated by the irresistible power of Napoleon, were soon settled, and peace was signed on 27th December. The Venetian territories were ceded to the kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria. All the Italian changes were recognised: and the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg raised to the rank of kings, being further declared independent of the Emperor as head of the Germanic body, a clause which virtually dissolved the empire. Besides these cessions, a sum of £1,600,000 was exacted for the expenses of the war, in addition to the immense contributions already levied; and heavy ransoms were paid for a large portion of the military stores and artillery which had become the booty of the victors. The object of Napoleon seems to have been to throw the strength of Austria to the east, and detach it as much as possible from Italy and Germany; thus leaving him, as soon as he could conclude a treaty with Russia, at leisure to turn his undivided force against Great Britain.

391. The news of Austerlitz at once dissolved the combined army which, under the King of Sweden, as noticed above, was besieging Hameln—the British re-embarking, and the Swedes and Russians retreating to their own territories. But the Kingdom of Naples, which had been compelled to break its neutrality on the appearance of an Anglo-Russian fleet in the bay, did not so easily. On 26th December, Napoleon issued a proclamation from Presburg, declaring that “the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign”—a denunciation promptly followed up by a march

of an army, under St Cyr, and which gave the first instance of that rapacious policy of which Holland, Spain, and Westphalia afforded subsequent examples. The career of Napoleon, at the end of this year, was in fact one triumphal procession. On the 31st December he arrived at Munich, where he was met by Josephine; and a succession of brilliant fêtes celebrated at once the elevation of the Elector to the royal dignity, and the nuptials of his daughter, the Princess Augusta, with Eugene Beauharnais, who was at the same time declared heir to the throne of Italy, in default of lawful issue of Napoleon; and, finally, recrossing the Rhine at Strasburg, he reached Paris by rapid journeys, (Jan. 25.)

392. The campaign of Austerlitz, in a military point of view, is the most remarkable in the history of the war. On the 1st of September, the army was put in motion from the heights of Boulogne; and by the 2d of December, Vienna had been taken, and the strength of Austria and Russia prostrated in the heart of Moravia—a *hundred days* unparalleled in the past history of Europe, though destined within ten years to be eclipsed by another *hundred days* of still more momentous activity! These astonishing results, so different from the long struggle maintained by Austria in the two former wars, were doubtless in a great measure owing to the extraordinary military ability displayed by the French Emperor, and to the unequalled state of discipline and organisation to which his armies had been brought during the five years of Continental peace, as well as to his having chosen as the theatre of war the valley of the Danube, the natural avenue to the Hereditary States, unimpeded by either fortresses or mountains, instead of combating, as before, among the fortresses of Italy or the ridges of the Alps. But these triumphs were only purchased by proportionate risks; and there can be no doubt that the imprudence of the Allies in giving battle at Austerlitz extricated him from the greatest peril in which he had stood since the commencement of his career. The imputation of the Aulic Council, in sending their strongest army against the greatest commander into Italy, was a ruinous error,

from which the quickness and audacity of Napoleon's operations gave them no time to recover; and the fatal indecision of Prussia, at the moment when by prompt action she might at once have avenged her own wrongs, and atoned for the vacillations of the last ten years, set the seal to the ruin of the confederacy.

393. Its fall proved fatal to the master-spirit which had formed it. The constitution of Mr Pitt was prematurely worn out by the labours and excitement of his political life, and the disaster of Austerlitz was his deathblow. After a melancholy survey of the map of Europe, he turned away, saying, "We may close that map for half a century;" and on January 23, 1806, he died at his house in London, aged forty-seven, exclaiming with his last breath, "Alas, my country!" In the general principles of his conduct, and the constancy with which he maintained them, European history has not so great a statesman to exhibit. If the coalitions which he formed on the Continent were unsuccessful, the revenues, trade, and manufactures of Great Britain were doubled, and its colonies and political strength quadrupled, during his administration; and if he could not prevent the revolutionary spirit of Jacobinism from bathing France with blood, and ravaging Europe with war, he at least effectually opposed its entrance into the British dominions. For military combinations, as Napoleon observed, he had no turn; and it must be admitted that, by directing the national strength chiefly to colonial acquisitions, and relying for European services almost entirely on Continental armies supported by British subsidies, he greatly extended the duration of the war. But the truth and soundness of his general principles of policy, both at home and abroad, are now illustrated by the experience of every hour; and Chateaubriand has truly said, "that while all other contemporary reputations, even that of Napoleon, are on the decline, the fame of Mr Pitt is continually increasing."

394. In private life his conduct was irreproachable; but he had few personal friends, and his manners were reserved and austere. Superior to the cares of wealth, he was careless of his private

fortune; and £40,000 was voted by the gratitude of the nation to pay the debts due at his death. His grave in Westminster Abbey was surmounted by a monument decreed by the House of Commons; but the historian who surveys the situation of the British empire at the close of the contest which he so nobly maintained for the liberties of mankind, will rather inscribe on his sepulchre the well-known words—

“Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice.”

III. *Joseph Buonaparte made King of Naples—Battle of Maida—Formation of the Rhenish Confederacy.*

395. The peace of Presburg appeared to have finally subjected the Continent to France. Austria was crushed, Prussia bribed and overawed, and even the might of Russia had succumbed. Britain, it is true, was still unconquered and unconquerable; but the Pitt ministry had fallen at the death of its chief, and his successors were expected to entertain more pacific views than that uncompromising foe of the Revolution. Lord Hawkesbury, indeed, had made a fruitless attempt to form a new administration on the old basis; but public opinion was strongly expressed on the necessity of a coalition of “all the talents” of the nation, without regard to party, in the present perilous times; and Lord Grenville and Mr Fox were at last (Jan. 26) intrusted with the task. Three distinct and well-defined parties were joined in the new ministry. The democratic Whigs, who had all along supported the French Revolution, were represented by Mr Fox and Mr (created Lord) Erskine; while Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Mr Wyndham, were taken from the other section of Whigs, who, though inclining to the popular side in domestic questions, had seceded with Mr Burke when he declared against the Revolution, and had since remained fiercely hostile to their former allies. Lord Sidmouth and his adherents, who had been in opposition since they were displaced by Pitt, formed the third political group. The chiefs of all these parties came into office; but though Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury, was

the ostensible premier, the preponderance of the friends of Mr Fox (who became secretary at war) was such as to render it to all intents and purposes a Whig administration. The measures of government, however, underwent no immediate change: a loan of £18,000,000 was raised; and provided for by new taxes; the war-taxes were also raised, and the income-tax increased from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent—a measure which, though almost unavoidable, was loudly complained of by the public.

396. The hasty return of Napoleon to Paris had been caused by a financial crisis, which, if the issue of the campaign had been different, might have led to ruinous results. During 1805, the Bank of France, yielding to the prosperity which on all sides flowed into the Empire, had extended its discounts to an unprecedented extent, principally in favour of the public functionaries and government contractors. Among these was the firm of Ouvrard and Co., at that time the greatest capitalists in the world, and on whom the Bank chiefly depended for its supply of the precious metals—their extensive transactions with Spain giving them almost the entire command of the specie brought from Mexico. There was thus an extensive glut of paper in the money market at the moment when the breaking out of the German war caused an immense and immediate demand for gold. £2,000,000 worth of which was taken from the Bank for the public service. To meet this deficiency, the finance minister, Marbois, contracted a loan of £4,000,000 with Ouvrard and others; but though their engagements with Spain entitled them to expect more than £11,000,000 in hard dollars from America, before the end of the year, this prospect would not furnish a supply for present necessities, and a complete panic ensued. Several of the great capitalists failed, and had the war continued a few months longer a national bankruptcy must have taken place; but the battle of Austerlitz restored public confidence, and Napoleon lost no time in instituting a rigorous investigation, which terminated in the dismissal of Marbois, and the bankruptcy of the gigantic company of Ouvrard as defaulters to their contracts. Great changes in the system of finance, and improved methods of collecting the revenue,

were now introduced, and not without effect: the root of the evil, however, lay in the extravagant expenditure of government, which far exceeded the revenue. There were, in fact, no longer any resources in France whence extraordinary funds could be obtained; and the expedient of loans (as in Great Britain) being impossible in a country the commerce of which was ruined, the system of continual foreign conquest and spoliation became indispensable, and continued so throughout the Empire, as the only means of maintaining the costly fabric of government, and the enormous military establishment, the burden of which was almost wholly borne by the tributary or conquered states.

397. As a counterpoise to these financial difficulties, a splendid exposition of the internal state of the Empire was presented to the Chambers by the minister of the interior: the noble roads of the Simplon, &c., over the Alps, were now completed; harbours and wet-docks were in progress in thirty-five maritime cities, particularly Antwerp and Cherbourg; the internal communications had been improved by the building of numberless bridges, and opening the navigation of rivers: and among other splendid works now projected for the adornment of the capital, was the well-known pillar in the Place Vendôme, covered with bas-reliefs, cast from 500 captured Austrian cannon, and commemorative of the principal actions of the campaign.

398. The sentence of dethronement passed against the dynasty of Naples had meanwhile been carried into effect. Fifty thousand French troops occupied the country, the court fled into Sicily, and Joseph Buonaparte, by an imperial decree of 14th April, was raised to the vacant throne; the beautiful Pauline, sister of the Emperor, at the same time receiving the duchy of Genetella, and Murat being created Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg in Germany. But Joseph's tenure of his new dominions was yet incomplete. The fortress of Gaeta still held out, the Calabrian peasants rose in furious revolt, and the British in Sicily (who had already taken the island of Capri, close to the capital) sent 5000 men to their aid under Sir John Stuart, who encountered at Maida (July 8) a French corps of 7500, under Reynier. The

battle presented one of the rare instances in which French and British troops have actually crossed bayonets; but French enthusiasm sank before British intrepidity, and the enemy were driven from the field with the loss of half their number. The victory of Maida had a prodigious moral effect in raising the spirits and self-confidence of the British soldiery; but its immediate results were less considerable. The French were indeed driven from Calabria, but the fall of Gaeta, (July 18,) after the loss of its brave governor, the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, released the main army under Massena: the British, exposed to be attacked by overwhelming numbers, re-embarked (Sept. 5) for Palermo, and the Calabrian insurrection was suppressed with great bloodshed. But an amnesty was at length (in November) published by Joseph, who devoted himself with great zeal and admirable judgment to heal the wounds of his distracted kingdom.

399. In pursuance of the system now commenced, of fencing in his throne by a girdle of dependent crowns, Napoleon had declared his brother Louis (June 5) King of Holland—a change which passed without resistance or comment; and out of the Venetian states, now incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, twelve military fiefs were erected for the most distinguished of the marshals and ministers. Napoleon well knew that the jealousy of the old dynasties against him, however disguised, was inextinguishable; and that he could derive firm support only by placing his own relations and followers in positions which made their own safety contingent on the preservation of his great parent diadem—a system founded, therefore, not on arrogance or vanity, but in a correct appreciation of his own political position.

400. The Brest fleet had not been involved in the catastrophe of Trafalgar; and Napoleon hoped that this last remnant of his naval force, consisting of eleven ships of the line, might yet be employed with effect against the remote British colonies. One division, consisting of five ships and two frigates, was accordingly sent out to St Domingo; but it was there attacked (Feb. 6)

by a British force, under Admiral Duckworth, and completely destroyed—three ships being captured and two stranded and burnt, the frigates alone escaping. The other squadron, under Admiral Villameuz, was not more fortunate; three sail were destroyed by Sir Richard Strachan, at the mouth of the Chesapeake; another was wrecked on the French coast; and only one ship returned in safety. Linois, who since his repulse by the China fleet had been cruising against our trade in the Indian seas, was captured with his two remaining ships on their homeward route (March 13, 1806) by Sir John Borlase Warren; and a frigate squadron bound for the West Indies was taken the next day by Sir Samuel Hood. The Rochfort fleet alone, under Lallemand, eluded the pursuit of all the British squadrons, and returned safe to port after a cruise of six months—an escape which was celebrated as a real triumph by the French. But the naval war was now in fact at an end: the British navy had attained universal dominion, and navigated the ocean as securely as if it had been an inland sea within their own country; and Britain, relieved from all dread of invasion or colonial embarrassment, was enabled to direct her undivided attention to land operations. A dispute arose during this year with the United States of America on the subject of neutral rights, and the search for naval deserters by British men-of-war, which was taken up with extreme violence by the public of both nations, but was at length satisfactorily adjusted by the good sense of their respective governments.

401. The reduction of the Cape (Jan. 8) was an enterprise which had been prepared before the death of Mr Pitt; but the facility of the conquest, by inspiring the commanders with overweening confidence, ultimately led to serious disasters. The admiral, Sir Home Popham, having obtained 1500 troops from the military commandant, Sir David Baird, sailed on an unauthorised expedition against Buenos Ayres, which almost immediately capitulated, (June 28.) The news was received in Britain with extravagant popular rejoicings; but the Spaniards, speedily recovering from their panic, overpowered the inadequate garri-

son, (Aug. 12,) who were made prisoners of war in defiance of the capitulation. Sir Home Popham continued, however, to blockade the mouth of the river, till the arrival of reinforcements enabled the British to resume the offensive, with still worse fortune, the next year.

402. The relations between France and Prussia were daily becoming less amicable. The cabinet of Berlin, though embarrassed by the news of the treaty which Haugwitz had concluded at Vienna, had not sufficient virtue to refuse the tempting offer of Hanover; but an attempt was made to colour the transaction, in the eyes of the British ambassador, by representing it as a mere temporary occupation. This equivocation, however, was not admitted by Napoleon, who threatened to annul the treaty; and Prussia, fearful of losing her spoil, at length openly committed herself by declaring the electorate annexed to her dominions, "as ceded by Napoleon, whose it was by right of conquest"—at the same time excluding the British flag from its ports. This perfidious rapacity drew down instant retaliation from Britain: the harbours of Prussia were blockaded, and its flag swept from the seas by the British cruisers; nor did her self-degradation purchase even the forbearance of France. Murat, as Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg, seized various portions of Prussian territory as appendages to his new dominions; heavy contributions were levied on Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort, as the price of French protection; and a general feeling of shame and indignation pervaded the Prussian people, whose spirit and patriotism clearly perceived the gulf, to the brink of which the nation had been led by the temporising servility of its rulers.

403. But these feelings were not yet universal in Germany, and Napoleon now availed himself of the enthusiasm excited among the lesser states by the victories over Austria, in which they had shared, to bring to maturity his grand project of the Confederation of the Rhine, which had been first conceived the year before, at Mayence. The Act of Confederation was signed on 12th July; the contracting parties being the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon,

the Elector of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Grand-duke of Berg, (Murat,) the various branches of the houses of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salza, and other petty princes. All these states were declared to be severed for ever from the Germanic empire, and erected into a new league under the protection of Napoleon, to whom they were to supply, in case of attack, a contingent of 58,000 men, which France was to support with 200,000. No blow had yet been levelled at European independence so important as this, by which sixteen millions of men were at once severed from the sceptre of the Cæsars to be converted into an outwork for a foreign power; but Austria was in no condition to express its resentment, and wisely gave way to the storm. But the Emperor Francis, justly considering the constitution of the Holy Roman empire as subverted, renounced by a solemn deed (Aug. 6) the ancient throne of the Cæsars, and declared himself the first Emperor of Austria.

404. The peace of Presburg had apparently removed all grounds of discord between France and Russia, and a negotiation for peace had actually commenced. A fresh dispute arose, however, from the occupation by the Russians of Cattaro—an Adriatic port in the Dalmatian territory of Venice, just ceded to France; while the French indemnified themselves by seizing Ragusa, a neutral and independent city: these differences, however, were adjusted, and peace was actually signed at Paris (July 20.) But the Russian plenipotentiary, d'Orloff, had so utterly departed from his instructions that this treaty was at once disavowed, (Aug. 25) at St Petersburg; and the negotiation between France and Britain, which had been pending since February, was also broken off early in September. At first France had been willing to restore Hanover, and to leave Great Britain in possession of Malta and the Cape besides her Indian conquests; insisting at the same time on Sicily being given up to King Joseph, and offering to provide an equivalent for Ferdinand, either in the Balearic Isles or Dalmatia. Great Britain, however, steadily refused to be a party to the spoliation of neutral and independent states for purposes of indemnification; and though the demands of

France were somewhat lowered after the refusal of Russia to ratify d'Oubril's treaty, all hopes of accommodation at length failed, and Lord Lauderdale quitted Paris (Oct. 6) nine days after Napoleon had set out to take the command against Prussia.

405. The popular ferment in Berlin had risen to an uncontrollable pitch when it became known that Napoleon, in spite of his recent engagements, had offered to restore Hanover to Britain; and the excitement was further increased by a cruel and illegal murder perpetrated at this juncture by his order. Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, who had been active in the publication of works hostile to France, was seized, carried before a French court-martial at Braunau, and there shot, (Aug. 25,) without being allowed to enter on his defence—a foul and atrocious crime, unjustifiable either by the law of nations or the nature of the alleged offence. The war-party in Berlin now overwhelmed all opposition: the officers whetted their sabres on the window-sills of the French ambassador; and the Queen and Prince Louis openly fostered the general enthusiasm. War was only delayed till the distant succours of Russia could arrive; but Napoleon, penetrating this design, instantly put his troops in motion, from the Inn and Neckar, for the Elbe; and himself set out for the army (Sept. 26) before the ultimatum had been presented at Paris (Oct. 1) by M. Knobelsdorf. Its terms—the instant evacuation of Germany by the French troops, and the acquiescence of Napoleon in the formation of a counter league in North Germany—were fitter for the brow of a victory than the eve of Jena, and show how strong was the infatuation which had seized the cabinet of Berlin.

406. Before the commencement of hostilities, however, Mr Fox had breathed his last, (Sept. 13,) having survived his illustrious rival only a few months. Few men have run a more brilliant career, and none ever were the object of more affectionate regard from a numerous body of friends. Though a man of pleasure in every sense of the word, dissipated and irregular in private life, his many failings were all forgotten in the kindness of his heart, and generous warmth of his feelings. He was unquestion-

ably the ablest debater that the British parliament ever produced, but his fame has not, like that of his great opponent, stood the test of time; and the present generation, removed from the fascination of his fervid eloquence, can scarcely applaud the political penetration of the eulogist of the French Revolution, and the palliator of its atrocious excesses. A longer life, however, might probably have weaned him from all, as he honourably admitted it had done from many, of his earlier delusions.

IV. *Campaign of Jena—Fall of Prussia.*

407. Prussia, though thus rushing headlong into war, had not wholly neglected to court the aid of other powers in the conflict. Great Britain and Sweden were easily conciliated, and the powerful alliance of Russia had also, with some difficulty, been secured; but Austria, still bleeding from her recent wounds, and distrusting the Prussian cabinet, persisted in standing aloof. Hopes of assistance were also held out from a most unexpected quarter, Spain, ruined by the French alliance, and indignant at the recently proposed transfer of the Balearic Islands in exchange for Sicily, without her consent, opened communications with Berlin, and began to augment her army. But these premature movements were stopped by the news of Jena, though not till they had decided Napoleon on dethroning the Spanish Bourbons at the first opportunity. Of the lesser powers, Saxony alone sent 20,000 men to the Prussian standard; Hesse-Cassel wavered; and the Confederation of the Rhine, of course, sided with France. Though the Russians had not yet left the Niemen, Frederick William gallantly took the field with all his disposable force, amounting to 120,000 men; and so little were the impending calamities anticipated that the guards marched out of Berlin singing songs of triumph, and leaving the inhabitants almost in a state of sedition from tumultuous joy.

408. No position in Europe is more defensible than the line of the Elbe, supported as it is by the strong ramparts of Magdeburg.

DEATH OF PRINCE LOUIS OF PRUSSIA. A. D. 1806.

Wittenberg, and Torgau—but none of these fortresses were either adequately armed or provisioned; and the Prussian generalissimo, the Duke of Brunswick, though an able man of the last century, was now superannuated—bold in his own day, but vacillating in execution, and altogether ignorant of the terrible vehemence and rapidity which Napoleon had introduced into modern warfare. With almost unaccountable rashness, he now determined to assume the offensive, advancing by Eisenach towards the valley of the Main, in order to cut off the enemy's communications with France—a manœuvre which Napoleon no sooner penetrated than he determined to retort it on the Prussians. On the 9th October, accordingly, the whole French army moved in three great columns on the main roads towards Saxony: Soult and Ney on the right, marching from Bayreuth towards Hof; the cavalry, under Murat, in the centre, with Bernadotte and Davoust, advancing from Bamberg north-west towards Saalberg; while Lannes and Augereau, on the left, breaking up from Schweinfurt, advanced by Coburg and Grafenthal upon Saalfeld. The centre and right were thus bearing straight on the Prussian magazines; and the Duke of Brunswick, thunderstruck by the news, instantly countermanded the advance, and gave orders for a concentration of the troops about Erfurth and Weimar. But this retrograde cross movement had to be made on bye-roads, and in face of a superior enemy marching in dense columns on the great causeways perpendicular to their route; and the results were such as might be anticipated. Several of their detachments were overwhelmed on the 9th and 10th; and on the latter day a more important advantage was gained by Lannes and Augereau over the corps of Prince Louis in front of Saalfeld. The Prussians, assailed by vastly superior numbers, were completely routed; and the gallant prince himself was slain by a sabre-stroke, while fighting hand to hand among the French—a calamity which diffused a universal gloom over the army.

409. The dejected and disordered columns of the Prussians at length effected their concentration in two great masses—one of 65,000 under the King near Weimar, the other under Prince

Höhenlohe, numbering about 40,000, near Jena. The French had now marched completely round them, cutting off their retreat from Saxony to their own country: the great magazines at Naumburg were seized, and Napoleon, who had expected a formidable resistance from the soldiery of the Great Frederick, now conceived hopes of rapid and decisive success, in which he unexpectedly derived still farther aid from their own injudicious movements. In the vain hope of saving Naumburg, the main body, under the King and the Duke of Brunswick, advanced on the 13th towards Sulza, leaving Höhenlohe and the rear in the presence of double their number under Napoleon. On the same day the important heights of the Landgrafenberg, commanding a view of the whole Prussian lines before Jena, were occupied by the French; the artillery was dragged up to the ridge by incredible exertions, in which Napoleon personally assisted. In the grey of the morning of the 14th, Höhenlohe, who to have had no expectation of an immediate attack, was surprised by finding that the French, to the number of 80,000, had already passed the gorges in front of his position under cover of the mist, and were pressing forwards in battle array. He immediately despatched orders to General Ruchel to bring up the reserve of 20,000 men; but the battle had already begun. The Prussians, though so fearfully outnumbered, resisted gallantly, and the corps of Ney was at one time broken by the furious onset of their numerous and magnificent cavalry, which also obtained some advantage on the left. But the odds were too great against them: the village of Vierzehn-Heiligen, the key of their position, was carried by storm; and when Ruchel at length came up, he was only in time to share in the general ruin. Twelve thousand fresh cavalry, under the fiery guidance of Murat, bore down with loud shouts of triumph on the retiring masses. The Prussian horse, weary with eight hours' incessant fighting, gave way before the vigorous squadrons, and horse, foot, and cannon became mingled together in one confused mass. Ruchel was wounded and carried off the field; and the rout became one frightful scene of disorder and massacre. So vehement was the

pursuit that the victors and vanquished entered pell-mell into Weimar, six leagues from the field of battle; and Hohenlohe with difficulty rallied a few regiments of cavalry behind the town, as a rallying-point for the panic-stricken fugitives.

410. The fate of the main army under the King, on the same day, had been almost equally disastrous. Napoleon, supposing that he had to encounter the whole Prussian army at Jena, sent orders to Davoust to fall on their rear during the action; and the marshal, moving from Naumburg for this purpose, found himself, on the evening of the 13th, in contact with the King's army before Auerstadt. Davoust had only 26,000 foot and 4000 horse to oppose more than double the number; but, pushing forward his van, he succeeded in seizing the defiles of Koessen, where he barred the march of the Prussians on the following morning. The King and Marshal Möllendorf at first conceived the impediment to arise only from a detached column, but all their efforts failed to dislodge the gallant division of Gudin from its vantage-ground; and the troops were disheartened by the fall of General Schmettau and the Duke of Brunswick, who were both mortally wounded early in the day. The nature of the ground rendered the Prussian superiority of numbers in a great measure unavailable; and as the remaining French divisions reached the scene of action, the advantage gradually inclined to their side. In spite of the repeated and furious charges of the Prussian cavalry, the heights of Sonnenberg on their right were surmounted by Morand; and the French artillery, from that commanding eminence, carried death through all the ranks of the enemy. Marshal Möllendorf was wounded; and, after an ineffectual attempt on the part of Kalkreuth and the reserve to restore the battle, the whole army was driven through the defiles of Auerstadt. At first their retreat, covered by the guards and Blücher's cavalry, was conducted in tolerable order; but the apparition of Bernadotte* on their flank, compelled them

* A too literal interpretation of the Emperor's order had prevented Bernadotte from joining Davoust at Auerstadt—an error of judgment which drew on him the unqualified wrath of Napoleon.

to change their route, and their dismay was completed by encountering the tide of fugitives from Jena. The whole army was broken up, flying in all directions, and abandoning its artillery and baggage. Twenty thousand had fallen in the two fields of Auerstadt and Jena; as many were made prisoners, the King himself escaping with difficulty; and 200 guns, with 25 standards, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the French was, however, 14,000, of whom Davoust's army lost 7500; of the gallant band under Gudin, which bore the brunt of the fight at Auerstadt, not fewer than 134 officers, and 3500 men, (more than half their total number,) were left on the field.

411. The extraordinary circumstance of the four generals-in-chief—the Duke of Brunswick, Ruel, Möllendorf, and Schmetsau—being killed or disabled, had left the fragments of the army without a head; and Napoleon left them no time to recover from their confusion. Erfurth, where 12,000 soldiers had taken refuge, surrendered with all its stores the day after the battle. Kalkreuth's corps, which still preserved good order, was utterly defeated by Soult on the 16th at Nordhausen; and the general reserves under Duke Eugene of Württemberg, 14,000 strong, were overwhelmed (Oct. 17) at Halle, by Bernadotte, after a resistance which in some degree vindicated the honour of the Prussian arms. Hohenlohe, who had been named commander-in-chief by the King, attempted to rally the wrecks of the army at Magdeburg; but the provisions in the place were insufficient for so great a multitude, and he again marched (Oct. 23) with a large but disorganised body of troops, hoping to reach the remote fortress of Stettin on the Oder. But his route was intercepted by the indefatigable cavalry of Murat, who attacked him in front, while Lannes was closing in on his rear; and after losing most of his men in a succession of severe skirmishes, he was forced to surrender at Prenzlau (Oct. 28) with 14,000, including the remains of the guards. Meanwhile, the fortresses of Spandau, and of Stettin and Cöslin on the Oder, were disgracefully yielded without resistance, and the light troops of Davoust rushed on (Nov. 3) to Posen in Prussian Poland.

412. The only Prussian troops who now kept the field were about 24,000 men under Blücher, composed by the union of 6000 cavalry, which that gallant officer had brought off from Auerstadt, with the infantry of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, which had not been present with the grand army. Against this heroic band 60,000 men were now directed, under Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte; and the Prussians were at length driven through Mecklenburg into Lubeck, where a desperate conflict took place (Nov. 6) in the streets of the town, which suffered severely from the licentious cruelty of the French soldiery. Blücher himself, with 8000 men, succeeded in cutting his way through the assailants; but his farther retreat was barred by the territory of Denmark; and the hardy veteran, having done all that valour and determination could accomplish, was at length compelled to capitulate. Magdeburg, which had hitherto been blockaded by Ney, surrendered (Nov. 8) on the first threat of a bombardment; the Hanoverian fortresses of Hämeln and Nienburg submitted, before the end of the month, to an army which had appeared in that quarter under the King of Holland; and thus expired all the elements of resistance from the Weser to the Oder.

413. Napoleon's first care, after the victories of Jena and Auerstadt, had been to detach the Saxons from the alliance—a task which the occupation of their country by the French, and their own inborn jealousy of the Prussians, rendered extremely easy. The Elector at first accepted neutrality; but ere long (Dec. 12) an alliance was concluded at Posen, by which he received the title of King, and joined the Confederation of the Rhine, furnishing a contingent of 20,000 soldiers; and he adhered, to the last, with honourable fidelity, to the fortunes of Napoleon. In the following, meanwhile, the march of his victorious armies, which had passed by Weimar and Wittenberg to Berlin, where they entered (Oct. 25) in all the pomp of victory, taking up their residence in the royal palace. The inhabitants, in speechless grief, saw their capital in possession of the enemy in a fortnight after hostilities had commenced; but their humiliation was changed into disgust at the unworthy spoliation of the tomb of the Great French

rich, which his sword and orders were seized by Napoleon himself, to be sent to Paris as trophies. A solitary instance of generosity marks the conduct of the Emperor at this period, in the pardon of Prince Hatzfeld, whose life, when condemned for supplying secret information to Hohenlohe, was granted to the prayers of his wife: but his general demeanour to the Prussians was that of studied and bitter contumely. The captive officers were ostentatiously paraded through Berlin; the Duke of Brunswick was assailed in the bulletins with such personal virulence, that he fled for refuge to Altona, where he soon after died, from the inflammation of his wounds by the hurried journey; and the Queen herself was insulted with brutal and unmanly sarcasms through the same channel. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel was summarily stripped of all his dominions; and Napoleon publicly threatened that he would impoverish the Prussian nobles "till they should beg their bread." The execution of this last menace was speedily commenced by the levy of a war contribution of £6,200,000, (equivalent to double the sum in Great Britain,) which was enforced with ruthless severity. General Clarke was appointed governor-general of the conquered provinces, aided by Count Daru in the civil details; the whole country, from the Rhine to the Vistula, received a fresh organisation, and all the authorities were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to the French Emperor.

414. Negotiations had all this time been going on for peace; but as Talleyrand at length clearly intimated that the fortresses on the Vistula must be surrendered, and the whole Prussian territory remain in the hands of the French till a general peace, as a means to induce Britain to give up her maritime conquests, the Emperor issued (Novr 28) to ratify the armistice which had been proposed by his ministers; and Napoleon, after fulminating the Berlin Decree (hereafter to be enlarged upon) against British commerce, set out for Poland to meet the Russian armies before they reached Germany. At Posen he gave audience to the Polish deputies, who came to implore his support for their national restoration; but the language of his

reply to the Palatine Radzimirski, though well calculated to weaken the hopes and arouse the enthusiasm of the Poles, cautiously kept clear of any specific promise of independence, and counselled concord and unanimity among the different parts of the population as the surest means of achieving their freedom. Meanwhile Mortier had occupied Hamburg; the Bavarians and Württembergers, under Jerome Buonaparte, were employed in reducing the Silesian fortresses which still held out; and, to supply the chasms in the army, a conscription of 80,000 was again ordered *by anticipation*, from those who were to attain the military age in 1807.

V. Campaign of Eylau.

415. Though the short campaign of Jena had destroyed the power of Prussia, the war could scarcely be said to be seriously commenced while the formidable legions of Russia still remained unsubdued. Since the defeat of Austerlitz, Alexander had been indefatigable in recruiting and reorganising his army; the devout loyalty of the people had been excited to the highest degree by a proclamation denouncing Napoleon as the grand enemy of Christianity; and religious enthusiasm was thus combined with the energy of the desert in inspiring the resistance which the French had now to encounter. The serfs drawn for the army, contrary to their usual custom, were actually to be regarded themselves as the chosen champions of Christianity, and the formidable lances of the wild Cossacks of the steppe were, almost for the first time, in the shock of battle. If their whole disposable force had been united to the militia, it would have amounted to 150,000 men; and even without all the efforts of Napoleon would probably have been victorious; but a Turkish war, which drew the Russian army away from Europe before the disasters in Prussia were known, divided the force, with most calamitous effect, at this critical moment.

416. The Polish question, meanwhile, was a source of great difficulty to Napoleon. The ferment occasioned by the news of the

the French ranks had spread through Poland and Lithuania, and even into the Austrian provinces of Galicia; and a general expectation for the recovery of the national independence, to be desired by the nobles and peasants, was openly talked of. The point was vehemently debated in the French councils, and Napoleon at one time inclined to the Polish cause; but the positive refusal of Austria to exchange her share of Poland for her old province of Silesia, (now possessed by Prussia,) determined him on a guarded line of conduct. With regard to Prussian Poland, however, he had no scruples; the enthusiasm of the people was excited to the highest pitch by Wybicki, and Dąbrowski, (the former commander of the Polish Legion in Italy,) who distributed proclamations bearing (as it afterwards appeared *falsely*) the signature of Kosciuszko; and the French, on their entry into Warsaw, (Nov. 30,) were hailed as deliverers. Several Polish regiments were raised for the service of France, which, before the end of the campaign, were augmented, by the spontaneous ardour of the people, to 30,000 men; and the spirits of the French soldiers, who were disheartened by the prospect of a winter campaign in these dreary regions, were reanimated by one of Napoleon's characteristic proclamations, addressed to them on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz. The march and organisation of the French troops were scrupulously hastened; requisitions for money and stores, to the astounding amount, were levied on the Polish Empire, as a pledge for their commerce with Britain; and, on the breaking of December, Napoleon, whom the Polish patriots had long since pushed on to the Bug, found himself at the head of a considerable disposable men, independent of the numerous garrisons keeping up the line of communication.

411. At the close of the month of December, Napoleon was not more than 100 miles from the Prussian frontier; and he had all that was necessary for the execution of the campaign, which he believed to be within his grasp. The commander of the Prussian army, however, was a veteran of eighty, and he was not only old, but he was also a Prussian; but he was supported by the

tried abilities of Benningsen and Schnowden ; and among the subordinate commanders were the afterwards famous names of Sacken, Osterman Tolstoy, and Barclay de Tolly. Notwithstanding this inferiority of force, Kamenskoi assumed the offensive, (Dec. 11,) by a forward movement from Pultusk ; and a desultory warfare ensued with the French advance under Davoust, till the arrival of Napoleon at Warsaw (Dec. 18) gave the signal for more active operations. The passage of the Wkra was forced, (Dec. 23,) and the division of Osterman Tolstoy defeated (24th) at Nasielsk ; the Russian position was pierced through the centre, and their army fell back in two great bodies,—one under Gallitzin on Golymin, the other under Benningsen on Pultusk ; and Kamenskoi, wholly in the presence of mind, ordered the artillery to be abandoned. The impassable state of the roads was the reason given ; but Benningsen boldly resolved to disobey, and to stand fast at Pultusk with the troops under his command, (amounting to about 40,000 men, with 120 guns,) against the pursuing corps of Lannes, which did not number more than 15,000. The field where the battle was fought (Dec. 26) was a barren plain in the midst of the thickets which elsewhere cover the country ; and the French divisions, as they emerged from these woodlands, were exposed, while enduring in vain the heavy fire of the Russian artillery, while the Russian ranks were bewildered by the snow drifting in their faces, and the ground was everywhere in many places knee-deep, impeding the progress of the French. They charged, however, with their bayoneted rifles, and drove back the Russian right under Barclay de Tolly, who was in turn repulsed by the cavalry and the Russian division of Osterman Tolstoy ; and the sanguinary struggle continued till long after dark, when the French retreated with the loss of 10,000 men. The Russians lost only 5000 ; but they remained masters of the field of battle, and continued their retreat with little molestation on the following day. Prince Gallitzin did, on the same day, resist with similar firmness and success, at Golymin, the assault of Davoust and Angere, supported by a large detachment of Murat's cavalry ; and Napoleon, perceiving that his design of

cutting off the retreat of the Russians had been frustrated, called in his detachments, and put his whole army into cantonments on the Vistula; while the enemy took up their winter quarters behind the Narva, about Ostrolenka. Napoleon, with his staff and most of his generals, fixed his residence at Warsaw, which became the centre of a brilliant society: the great families from all parts of Prussian Poland flocked to his court; and the Polish women, who yield to none in Europe in beauty, accomplishment, and fascination of manner, welcomed the French with the enthusiastic gratitude due to those whom they regarded as the liberators of their country,—the invincible ones who were to restore the glories of the Piasts and the Jagellons.

418. But this interval was a period of rest to no Emperor. The dubious issue of the engagements had excited through Europe an intense hope that the torrent of French conquest was at last stemmed; and to obliterate this impression a series of triumphant campaigns were established, while the sieges of the Silesian fortresses were prosecuted with redoubled activity, both to release the corps so employed, and to annihilate the elements of resistance in the rear. Glogau, Brieg, and Kosel submitted to Vandamme on the first summons; Breslau, the capital of the province, surrendered (Dec. 31) to the French; and Schweidnitz, Neiss, and Olitz, the last strongholds between January and February, fell into the hands of the victors. Scarcely noticed amidst the brilliant successes of the campaign, was the ambassador at Constantinople, General Dumas, who at the same time instructed to use his influence in inducing the Turks to a vigorous prosecution of the war against the Russians, who had invaded Florida, was directed to inform the Porte of the successes of the French, and to hail loudly the prospect of a termination to the war, which came with the Russian signature of a declaration, that, in consequence of his perfidious abandonment of that power, he had retired to Tilsit.

419. The Emperor, who had not been long and now devoted to Benning, was subsequently seen at Koenigsberg; and that active general, observing the great distance which separated

the main body of the French round Warsaw from the left under Bernadotte and Ney, which was extended nearly up to Königsberg, conceived the design of crushing the latter by a rapid movement of his whole army. He broke up accordingly from the Narew, (Jan. 14,) with 75,000 men and 500 pieces of cannon; and advancing by forced marches towards the Baltic, fell like a thunderbolt on the scattered detachments of Ney, which were everywhere cut off or driven in. Bernadotte, while concentrating his troops at Mohrungen, was assailed, and escaped destruction (though with the loss of all his baggage) only from the Russian vanguard making the attack before the arrival of the other divisions. The French were repelled on all points near the Vistula; and Napoleon, fearing that the Russians would raise the blockade of Dantzic, gave instant orders for the concentration of all his columns, and hastened in person to the scene of action.

420. The Russians now lay between the rivers Passarge and Alle, and Napoleon's first movements were directed to cut them off from their own country; but this design became known to Benningsson through an intercepted despatch, and he instantly concentrated his troops for a retreat. During several days (Feb. 2-7) the march was a series of bloody but indecisive skirmishes, till at length the murmurings of his troops were augmented with hunger and fatigue, determined him to give battle; and on the night of 7th February he moved to the previously selected field of Preussisch-Eylan. The contest took place for the possession of the town between the Russians, under Bagration, and the French, who followed them up; and the troops were bivouacked within the walls, and the Russians occupied the high ground. The French army was only 85,000 men and 16,000 horses, while the Russians had 460,000 men and 1,000 cannon, but both armies were more than met, exclusive of 3000 under Lestocq, who was engaged during the action.

421. The battle was commenced, soon after daylight, by a furious attack from the French on the village of Schloditten, which formed the point d'appui of the Russian right: while Bagration, at the same time, advanced with equal determination

against their centre. But so murderous was the fire of the Russian artillery, that both these assaults were repulsed with tremendous slaughter : A. S. M. himself, with most of his officers, was wounded ; and his retreat was pressed with such vehemence by the Cossacks, that his whole corps was almost annihilated, and Napoleon narrowly escaped being made prisoner in the town of Eylau. Soult had not fared much better ; and a general charge on the centre by 14,000 horse under Murat, supported by the whole Imperial Guard, and 200 guns, though it at first broke the Russian lines by its weight, was eventually driven back with the loss of several eagles and 14 pieces of cannon. At this moment, when the French appeared within the grasp of the Russians, the villages of Gargarten and Serpallen, on their left, had been carried by the Prussians, after a desperate defence ; their flank was turned ; and, blinded by the snow-drift and the smoke from the burning houses, they began to give way in disorder. The whole left wing, however, was skilfully wheeled back by Bennigsen, at right angles to the centre, and the progress of Davoust thus arrested ; and the Prussians under Lestocq, at length coming up on the right, retook the captured villages at the point of the bayonet, and of all the efforts of Davoust to hold his ground. The battle now seemed concluded, when Ney's corps, following Bagration, were assaulted and carried Schloditten, where they were retained by the Russians at ten at night, and so ended the change of fortune of this day.

422. Such was the terrible day of Eylau, fought amid ice and snow, under circumstances of unparalleled hardship, and with a darkness which rendered unsupportable the day's toils. On the Russian side, 15,000 men were killed ; the French lost 10,000, besides 12 eagles ; and Napoleon, for the first time in his career, was obliged to retreat from a battle in which he had been victorious, when he was spared this mortification by the arrival of the Prussians, notwithstanding the representations of the French who urged a renewal of the battle, and even the signature of a truce. French, Bennigsen, and the Prussians, however, of the enemy, and fearing lest the arrival of reinforcements might enable them

to rush him off from Königsberg, resolved on retiring towards that city: and Napoleon on the morrow, according to his custom, rode over the dreadful field of battle, where 50,000 men lay splintered in their blood within two leagues. But the French did not venture to advance on Königsberg, whence the King of Prussia had now withdrawn to Memel; on the contrary, Napoleon offered that monarch a *separate* peace on advantageous terms, which Frederick-William (who had just received £80,000 a year subsidy from Britain) had the magnanimity to refuse. The present state of the country now left the French Emperor no alternative but to retreat, which was accordingly done on the 17th, the army being again placed in cantonments on the banks of the Passarge; while the Russians, who drew ample supplies from Königsberg, occupied the vacant ground about Eylau and Landsberg.

43. The battle of Eylau excited a prodigious sensation in Europe; and as the present ministry been in power in England, there can be no doubt that the triumphs of 1813 might have been anticipated by seven years. But the spirit of Pitt no longer directed the British councils: at the commencement of the campaign, a request from Russia for an advance of £1,000,000, and a subsequent loan of £5,000,000 more, had been refused. Though the public voice loudly called for the immediate despatch of an army to the Elbe, (a demand which would, beyond a doubt, have been followed by a universal outbreak in Northern Germany, and probably by a revolution of war from Austria against France,) Lord Howick refused the urgent solicitations of Russia and Prussia for money, except the paltry grant above noticed to Russia. Thus the decisive period passed away, and Great Britain, through the mismanagement of its foreign policy, and the want of a united front, was left to witness the triumph of Napoleon, and to see within her grasp, but unable to seize, the opportunity of a great victory.

44. The impression of the campaign excited elsewhere, by the triumph of Napoleon, was the same from which it diffused through France. The first statements, which were at one time believed, that Napoleon himself had fallen, and cabals were actually set on foot by the imperial family

for the throne; and even when the consternation began to subside, it was renewed by a message to the Senate (March 26) for a fresh conscription of 80,000—the *third* since the Prussian war began—of those who would reach the military age in August 1808. Napoleon was, in fact, as well aware as his enemies of the perilous nature of the crisis—he knew that a second battle on the Vistula would inevitably lead to a disastrous retreat beyond the Rhine; and, during the cessation of hostilities, his unwearied activity was not less occupied in preparations for a defensive warfare in case of a reverse, than in recruiting his forces for offensive operations on the present theatre of war.

VI. *Domestic and Foreign Measures of the British Government.*

425. The accession of the Whigs to power, after their long exclusion from office, afforded them at length an opportunity for the practical application of those popular ideas of reform and improvement, which had been developed during the excitement of the preceding fifteen years, and of which they had constantly professed themselves the advocates. Of the various measures introduced in consequence of these views, the first had reference to the important subject of recruiting the army, in which great difficulty had been experienced under the existing system of enlistment for life, or for a limited period. To obviate the dislike with which military service was popularly regarded, Mr Windham proposed a plan of enlistment for seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years, with additional privileges of retiring allowances; and this proposition, though it encountered considerable opposition, was finally adopted by parliament, and came into operation Jan. 1, 1807. Its success was unequivocal: within the first year, the annual supply of recruits was more than doubled; and the armies, throughout their subsequent wars, were consistently maintained in efficiency by this method, which has ever since been wholly abandoned. The unlimited enlistment has been reintroduced since the peace. A still more important measure proposed by the new ministers was the abolition of the slave

trade, which was at length carried (Feb. 23, 1807) by 283 to 16 in the Commons, and 100 to 36 in the Peers.

426. Early in 1807 (Jan. 29) an important measure was also brought forward by Lord Henry Petty, for the future management of the finances, so as to provide for a permanent state of warfare; as either the overthrow of Napoleon's power, or the conclusion of any durable peace with him, appeared alike hopeless. He proposed, therefore, to raise in this and the two following years a loan of £12,000,000; in 1810, £14,000,000; and for the ten succeeding years, (should the war last so long,) £16,000,000 a-year—appropriating each year from the war-taxes as much as would amount to ten per cent on the sum raised, to form a sinking-fund for its redemption. The minor details of this plan were arranged with great financial skill; but the project was opposed by Mr Canning, Mr Perceval, and Lord Castlereagh, who urged that it broke through the distinction between permanent and war taxes; and recommended the appropriation of part of the sinking-fund to the payment of the interest on the fresh loans. Both schemes were departures from the grand principle of Mr Pitt, which was to provide by new indirect taxes for the interest and gradual extinction of each fresh loan; but the system of Lord Henry Petty was, perhaps, the more manly and statesmanlike of the two in a domestic point of view, as leaving untouched the sacred deposit of the sinking-fund; though, as the event of the war in Poland proved, it was not calculated to meet the emergencies and ever-varying chances of warfare. The budget for 1807 was based on the new plan; but it was soon abandoned among the changes and necessities of future years.

427. Such were the principal domestic measures of the Whig administration, which were marked, in general, by a spirit of humanity and wisdom; but a far different mood must be meted out to their foreign policy. The Earl of Home Popham had been recalled, and reprimanded by the sentence of a court-martial (March 1807) for his unauthorised and unjust attack on Buenos Ayres, (p. 247,) the Government had not firmness to

resist the popular wish that a fresh force should be sent to the same quarter; and 3000 men were accordingly embarked under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who stormed and took Montevideo, (Feb. 2.) Another reinforcement of 4800 men was sent to the same destination, and the command-in-chief was General Whitelocke, who was directed to attempt the recovery of Buenos Ayres. The attack was accordingly made, (July 5;) but 200 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 men stationed on the flat roofs of the houses, opposed formidable obstacles to the advance of the British through the barricaded streets; and though several of the principal points were gallantly carried, three regiments numbering 2500 men, were obliged to surrender in other quarters. Such was now the consternation among the English commanders, that a capitulation was signed (July 7) with the Spanish general Linieres, by which the British prisoners were restored, on condition of the withdrawal of the whole hostile force from the Rio de la Plata. The public indignation in Britain was vehement; and General Whitelocke, on his return, was cashiered by a court-martial; but military men had not then been taught, by the examples of Gerona and Saragossa, the formidable aspect of street warfare; and much allowance must be made for an inexperienced officer, opposed by such unexpected difficulties in his first separate command.

428. Curacao had been taken without resistance, (Jan 1,) the advantages of British commerce and British protection disposing the planters everywhere to range themselves under its flag; but in other quarters, on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Nile, the arms of Britain were as fortunate as in the Rio de la Plata. We have already noticed the imprudent attack made by Russia on Turkey, at the moment of the commencement of the Prussian war. The contest arose from the removal, at the instigation of the French ambassador Sebastiani, (Aug. 30, 1806,) of the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, (who by the existing treaties were not to be displaced without the consent of Russia,) and their replacement by others in the interest of France; and though the menaces of the Russian and British envoys

proposed to the Emperor, and the proposed princes, the news reached the Emperor, who immediately ordered the march of the army under General Paskewitch, who speedily occupied the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which Poland coveted, the Russians, who were then on the Danube to support the Austrian army, and the British cabinet, who were then in London, and Sir John Balfour was ordered to lead a squadron of seven line-of-battle ships and a squadron of frigates to the passage of the Dardanelles, and to the Sea of Marmora.

429. The length of this famous strait, the narrowest part of its course, is nearly 30 miles, the width varying from one to three miles, while the narrowest part is defended on either side by the celebrated castles of Europe and Asia. But the castles, though armed with cannon, of enormous calibre, were ruinous and decayed; and the Turks, in spite of all the warnings of Sebastiani, neglected their repair, and looked for danger only from the Danube, though Mr Arbuthnot had already quitted the Turkish capital, and war had been declared by the Divan (Jan. 29) against Great Britain. On the 19th of February, however, the British admiral entered the strait, the passage of which was effected with little loss, from the unprepared state of the batteries; several Turkish frigates were burnt in the Sea of Marmora; and the fleet anchored at Princes' Islands, within three leagues of Seraglio Point.

430. The consternation of the Turks was extreme, as there were scarcely ten guns mounted on the seaward batteries; and it was increased by a message from Admiral Balfour, threatening to attack the city if the demands of Britain were not acceded to within twenty-four hours. The people rose in a fury, demanding the head of Sebastiani; but the energy of the French envoy was equal to this perilous crisis, and his exhortations rekindled the spirit of the Divan, which at first had no thought but of submission. While the British commander was amused by a show of negotiation, the whole population of Constantinople laboured incessantly at the fortifications, under the skilful superintendence

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431. The repeated defeats excited great discontent throughout Great Britain, and produced an impression, even among the supporters of the ministers, that their genius was less adapted for the warlike combinations requisite at the present crisis than for pacific ameliorations, now comparatively of little consequence. But time was not given for the manifestation of these feelings in the ordinary way, from an occurrence which brought the administration in collision with the religious feeling of the nation. This was the motion of Lord Howick (March 7) for the admission of Catholics into the army and navy, by the abolition of the test-oath in these cases; but in the midst of the debate it was suddenly announced (March 29) that the ministers had been dismissed, and that Lord Hawkesbury, the Duke of Portland, and Mr Perceval had been entrusted with the formation of a new Tory cabinet, including Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, Mr Canning, &c. In explanation of this sudden change, it was said

that the King, who had at first misunderstood the nature and extent of the proposed bill, no sooner became aware of these points, than he not only withdrew his sanction from the measure in progress, but required a pledge from the ministers that no further concession to the Catholics should be proposed. This pledge was refused as inconsistent with the doctrine that the King can do no wrong, and that the responsibility rests with his advisers; and this point, after the dismissal of the ministry, was vehemently debated in parliament. But the popular feeling was decidedly against the Whigs, who were considered to have made "a scandalous attempt to force the King's conscience;" a dissolution took place in April; and on the first division in the new parliament, (June 26,) a majority appeared for the Tories of 97 in the Lords, and 195 in the Commons.

VII. *Campaign of Friedland—Peace of Tilsit.*

432. The change of ministry in Britain produced an immediate alteration in her Continental policy. Bred in the school of Pitt, Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh had imbibed his ardent hostility to the French Revolution; and no sooner were they in office than they hastened to remedy the disastrous effects of the ill-judged parsimony of their predecessors. A treaty between Russia and Prussia, to which Sweden had given her adhesion, had been signed at Bartenstein (April 25) for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and Great Britain hastened to unite herself to the confederacy. By a convention signed (June 17) at London, she agreed to provide 20,000 troops to co-operate in Pomerania against the flank and rear of the French, and to furnish a subsidy of a million to Prussia; but these succours now came too late. The Czar, whose exertions had been hampered at the outset by the impolitic denial of the aid which he had confidently expected, was deeply irritated against the British government, and loudly complained of having been deserted while he was risking his empire, for the common interests of Europe, in a mortal struggle with France; while such was the

distention in which the arsenals had been left by the late administration, that it was not till a fortnight after the peace of Tilsit that the armament under Lord Cathcart reached the Baltic shores!

433. Napoleon, at the same time, while continuing in his addresses to the Senate to profess his readiness for peace, was unceasing in his preparations for war. The ill-timed advances of Spain towards an alliance with Prussia (p. 251) afforded him a pretext for extorting an auxiliary force of 16,000 of her best troops under the Marquis of Romana, who reached the Elbe in the middle of May; but his efforts to detach Sweden from the coalition totally failed. Gustavus had indeed been compelled, (in part,) by the nonpayment of the British subsidies, to conclude an armistice for Pomerania; but he denounced it as soon as he was aware of the change of policy at London, and even attempted, in an interview with Marshal Brune, who commanded the corps opposed to him, to bring him over to the party of the Bourbons. To guard against any descent of the British, Napoleon had meanwhile directed the formation of an army of reserve on the Elbe; while he concluded at Warsaw (May 7) treaties of alliance with Turkey and Persia, from both which powers he had received magnificent embassies. Already his early schemes of Oriental conquest recurred to his mind, and he was negotiating with the Porte for the passage of an army across its dominions, when the seizure of Farga and other towns on the Adriatic coast, as dependencies of Venice, excited the alarm of the Divan; and though the act was instantly withdrawn and disavowed, the suspicions of the Turks could not be allayed, and the passage of the troops was refused.

434. The French army meanwhile, largely recruited with gallant and enthusiastic Poles, lay in its quarters behind the Passarge, the passes over which were carefully guarded; while the wants of the soldiers were amply supplied by the agricultural riches of Old Prussia and the immense requisitions levied from the conquered provinces in the rear. The Russians, the bulk of whose force lay in an intrenched camp round Heilsberg on the

Alle, were far from having at their disposal the same resources as the French; but the two armies remained immovably nearly four months after Eylau. Napoleon was awaiting the reduction of the Silesian fortresses in his rear, (the fall of which has been anticipated on p. 261;) but the siege of Dantzic, which was defended by 11,000 men under Marshal Kalkreuth, was an operation of more difficulty. Situated at the mouth of the Vistula, the great emporium of Polish commerce is defended not only by its own strong ramparts and the fort of Weichselmunde, but by the marshy nature of the surrounding country, which is traversed only by a few causeways. The first operations of the besiegers were directed against the *Nehrung*, or long tongue of land which separates the Frische-haff from the Baltic; and which, after a series of conflicts, (March 18-22,) they succeeded in clearing of the Prussians; thus cutting off the land communications of the town; while the *König's Island*, at the extremity of the *Nehrung*, was carried by assault, (May 6.) The town was now pressed on all sides: a gallant attempt to raise the siege, (May 11,) by a Russian corps which landed at Neufahrwasser at the mouth of the Vistula, was defeated, after a desperate conflict, by Oudinot and Lannes, who commanded the besieging corps; and the works of the Hagelsberg-fort, which covered the town on the west, were ruined by mines. The ammunition of the garrison was now nearly exhausted; and a British ship, having been captured in an attempt to pass the Franche, (May 27;) and this great fortress, with 900 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

436. During these operations, the Russian grand army had been reinforced by several corps, including the guards under the Grand-duke Constantine, so that the whole force under Benning-sen now amounted to 120,000 men: but not more than 90,000 could be concentrated on the spot for the immediate shock; while the French Emperor had not less than 150,000 foot and 35,000 horse—a greater host than had ever yet been witnessed in modern Europe. The Russian commander had therefore

constructed formidable lines on both banks of the Alle, within which he intended to await the arrival of Prince Labanoff with 30,000 men; but the exposed situation of Naumov's corps which lay at Wittstadt, half-way between the two armies, tempted him (June 5) to hazard a stroke for its destruction; and by a skilful feint against the bridges of the Passarge he completely succeeded in surprising the French marshal, who was driven across that river with the loss of 2000 men. The marshal, moved by the danger of his lieutenant, concentrated his troops in such masses that the Russians in turn fell back to their intrenchment at Heilsberg, which they reached in safety (June 8,) after some desperate conflicts between their rear under Bagration and the pursuing French cavalry.

436. The design of Napoleon now was to engage the attention of the enemy by a front attack on their lines, while he moved 50,000 men round their flank, so as to threaten their communications with their magazines at Königsberg—a plan rendered feasible by his vast superiority of force. Nearly 80,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, defended the Russian intrenchments, which were attacked by the divisions of St. Cyr and Legrand (June 10) with all the characteristic impetuosity of the French soldiery. But the fire of the Russian batteries, and the obstinate valour of their right wing under Prince Gortchakoff, rendered all these efforts vain; fresh troops were in vain brought up; and after a day's fearful carnage, the French were repulsed at midnight, with the loss of 12,000 men, to the great chagrin of Napoleon. The march of Davoust on his flank determined the Russians, however, to retreat on Bartenstein—a movement which was executed without opposition on the night of the 11th. The French, however, followed close upon his traces; and while Murat and Victor pressed forward over the lately ensanguined fields of Eylau, on the road to Königsberg, Napoleon himself was on the point of interposing between the Russians and their own frontier, and Benningen, hastening the march of his weary columns, arrived on the 13th at Friedland, a considerable town on the left bank of the Alle.

437. On the following night, however, he received information that the corps of Lannes, which had been greatly weakened at the battle of Heilsberg, lay at Allenberg only three miles in front of Friedland; and instantly determining to seize the opportunity of crushing it, he attacked it on the morning of the 14th. Lannes, however, was soon supported by Mortier; and while Benningsen still thought that these two corps were all he had to contend with, he was insensibly engaged in a general battle, with only 55,000 men at his disposal, and the Alle in his rear, which he had crossed in his advance against Lannes. Napoleon, who arrived on the morning of the 14th, with not less than 10,000 horse, soon joined the Russian army in the attack, however, for several hours; and the Russian general began to hope that he might regain the right bank of the Alle without molestation. But at 5 P.M. the attack was renewed; and Ney's column, charged on the left with the main body of the French, drove in the Russian divisions opposed to it, and pressed nearly to the town of Friedland. Here, however, the French were in turn repelled with vast slaughter, by the Russian imperial guard; but the battle was restored by Mortier, and the town and villages of Friedland were fired by the Russians in their confusion. The retreat of the centre and right wings, hitherto combated with success against the French, was now thus cut off; but these undaunted bands continued to force their way through the surrounding masses, and, at the point of the bayonet, and retired slowly to the high ground beyond the fords. The water was breast-high, and many of the French were not a single battalion in front of the Russians, and even captured, few prisoners were made. The total loss of the French was 15,000 men, but no colours, and only 2 eagles: the French lost 5000 men, besides 2 eagles. The exhaustion of his troops, however, consequent on the desperate resistance which they had encountered, prevented Napoleon from following up his pursuit with his usual vigour: the Russians retreated to Allenberg and Mohlan, forming a junction at the latter place (June 16) with the corps of Bestock and Kamenskoi, which had evacuated

Königsberg after bringing off the magazines. The united force crossed the Niemen at Tilsit on the following day, burning the bridges behind them.

428. The disastrous battle of Friedland destroyed the confederacy against France. Disheartened by defeat, and disgusted by the parsimony of Britain and the timidity of Austria, Alexander had no longer any object or interest in continuing the war; and an armistice was proposed on the 19th, and at once acceded to. The proposition, indeed, was not less agreeable to Napoleon, who was unprepared to follow up his victory by carrying the war into the heart of Russia. The British expedition was on the point of leaving the coast, and a conference was arranged between the two Emperors, which took place (June 25) on a raft (the memorable *Tilsit*) moored in the middle of the Niemen. The meeting of the rival monarchs was cordial: and the first words of the Russian—"Spare the English as much as you do, and spare the French as much as you can against them."—"For that case," replied Napoleon, "provision is already made." Before they parted, the outlines of the treaty were arranged—the world afforded room for the agreement of both.

429. At a second conference, on the following day, the King of Prussia was presented to Napoleon, destitute of everything but no longer without a commission to the conqueror. On the 26th, the preliminaries were signed: but Napoleon had no choice but to accept of them, and all the talents and grace of this battle were exhausted in any mitigation of the hard terms. The final treaty was signed. The intimacy of the two Emperors was so great that everything was settled by themselves. The conference was a triumph for the treaties were formally signed—that between France and Russia on the 7th of July, the second, between France and Prussia on the 9th. Silesia, and the provinces on the right bank of the Elbe, were restored to the King of Prussia: but all the Prussian acquisitions in Poland (with the exception of the provinces of Białystok, which was given to Russia) were retained, under the new title of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, on the King of

Saxony; Dantzic was declared, at least in name, a free city; and the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Elbe were erected into a new kingdom of Westphalia, for Jerome Bonaparte, the Emperor's brother. Nearly half of her dominions and population were thus severed at one sweep from Prussia; but even the fortresses and territories of which she was nominally left in possession were still occupied by French troops, as security for the payment of the war contributions—a pretext which (as these enormous sums never could be fully discharged) was made to justify their retention up to the campaign of Moscow; while the establishment of the new kingdoms of Westphalia and Saxony, with the grand duchy of Warsaw, virtually brought the French frontier up to the Niemen. The King, however, could only submit to hard necessity; and he took leave of the subjects thus torn from his sceptre in a noble proclamation, which commanded the sympathy of all Europe by the heroic resignation with which he bowed under the tremendous stroke of fortune.

440. But these changes, important as they were, were insignificant when compared with the secret convention concluded at the same time between the French Emperor and the Russian autocrat. These two potentates, regarding themselves as invincible when united, had virtually agreed to divide the world between them. The East, including the greater part of the Ottoman empire, was assigned to Russia—the West to France. The latter were to join in hostility against the monarchs of Spain and Portugal, “to summon the three courts of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Lisbon to declare war against Great Britain.” The reigning dynasties in Spain and Portugal were to be replaced by princes of the family of Napoleon; and the partition of Turkey, Egypt and the Adriatic coasts were to be the share of France. Roumelia and Constantinople, however, were still to remain subject to the Sultan—neither party could be persuaded to cede to the other the possession of that matchless capital.

441. But these triumphs had been purchased by France at a fearful price, in the blood of her best and bravest. Authentic

documents prove that, during the campaign from the Saale to the Rhemen, not less than 420,000 sick and wounded were received into French hospitals—a terrific catalogue, which shows that the French conscription, amounting in all to 250,000 in eight months, was not more than was required to replenish the numbers in the ranks.

PART VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF TILSIT TO THE PEACE OF VIENNA.—
1807-9.

I. *Continental System, and Imperial Government of Napoleon.*

442. The battle of Trafalgar, by annihilating the prospect of invading Britain, had changed the method, but not the object, of Napoleon's hostility. His plan was now to sap the strength of Britain, and excite distress and dissension among her population, by a rigid exclusion of her flag and commerce from the harbours of all the Continental states; and, at the same time, having in the mean time got possession, by force or by treaty, of all the fleets of Europe, to unite them on some common point, whence an invading army of irresistible numbers could at once be poured on the British shores. Hence the gigantic works constructed at Antwerp—“the citadel,” as it was said, “itself worth a kingdom;” and his refusal to sign the preliminaries of the negotiations at Chatillon in 1814; and hence the famous Berlin Decree, (Nov. 21, 1806,) which, ostensibly issued in retaliation for the blockade of the Prussian coast, was in fact an announcement of the new system of hostility thenceforth to be directed against Britain. Under its provisions, “the British islands were declared in a state of blockade; all commerce or communication with them prohibited; and all British subjects found in the countries under the control of France made prisoners of war.” All British property or merchandise similarly circumstanced was confiscated; and all vessels coming from Great Britain or any of its colonies were declared

good prizes." Not a moment was lost in enforcing these rigorous enactments to the utmost: an army of inspectors, custom-house officers, &c., overspread the countries occupied by the French; and in North Germany particularly, the search for British goods became a pretext for innumerable extortions and abuses. So ruinous were its consequences that Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, at first refused to enforce it in his dominions, and was only compelled to do so by the peremptory menaces of his brother.

443. The first retort of Britain to the Berlin Decree, was by an Order in Council (Jan. 7, 1807) directing the capture of all vessels trading between any two ports from which British ships were excluded, thus cutting off the neutral coasting trade in these cases. But a few months' experience showed the necessity of a more rigorous and extensive system of retaliation; and a second Order in Council appeared, (Nov. 11,) which, reciting the Berlin Decree as a preamble, proclaimed a blockade of France and the States under her sway, as the blockade of the British islands had been published by Napoleon, and declared all vessels good prizes which should be bound for any of their ports, unless they had previously touched at a British harbour. In answer to this second order, Napoleon forthwith (Dec. 17) fulminated the Milan Decree, declaring "all vessels which submitted to be searched by British cruisers, or paid any British imposts, to have lost their neutral privileges; and that all ships coming from, or going to, any harbour in Great Britain or its colonies, or any country occupied by British troops, should be made prize."

444. But these prohibitive systems were soon evaded on both sides. Not many months after the Berlin Decree, a lucrative source of revenue was opened in France by the sale, at enormous prices, of licences under the Emperor's hand for the importation of British goods, under an obligation (easily eluded) of exporting French produce to an equal amount. British manufactures and colonial produce were consequently sold on the Continent at exorbitant prices; and the example thus set was soon followed

by the sale in Britain of similar licences of exemption from the Orders in Council. Thus, while British goods were barred in the market-places of Continental cities, and unhappy countries atoned for conniving at their introduction—while the British admiralty court was daily condemning ships for contravening the Orders in Council, both governments were openly violating the very decrees to which they required such implicit obedience in others. The sale of licences at length became a principal source of the private revenue of the Emperor, and was carried to such a pitch that, in 1812, the vaults of the Tuileries contained in hard cash not less than four hundred millions of francs, (£16,000,000,) derived almost wholly from this source. This vast sum did not appear in the public accounts; but from it were chiefly derived the means for the stand against combined Europe in 1813 and 1814.

448. Great and unparalleled was the joy which greeted Napoleon on his arrival at Paris (July 27) after the peace of Tilsit. The great contest appeared to be over: Prussia had been crushed, Austria overawed, and Russia, if not subdued, converted into a firm ally. So unprecedented a series of triumphs might have turned the heads of a less enthusiastic people; but the addresses of the orators in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies went beyond every allowable limit in their lavish adulation. A great fête (Nov. 25) in honour of the Grand Army raised these transports to a pitch of delirium; but Napoleon had already (Aug. 15) availed himself of this burst of feeling to eradicate the last vestige of public discussion in the legislature, by the final suppression of the already mutilated Tribunal; the functions of which were transferred to committees of the legislative body. The change was, however, received with thunders of servile applause even by the members of the Tribunal; and Napoleon, encouraged by this success, took still more decisive steps towards the establishment (Sept. 27) of a rigid censorship of the press, extending not only to journals and periodicals, but to all works on whatever subject. From that time to the end of the Empire, every approach to free discussion on public affairs in France, and its dependent states, was more thoroughly stifled than any power

had yet been able to effect; and all who ventured to assert independence of thought were persecuted with relentless rigour by the imperial police. Madame de Stael, driven first from France, and afterwards from Switzerland and Vienna, found refuge at last only in Russia; and her friend, the beautiful Madame Recamier, shared the same fate for a visit which she paid to the exile.

446. The thirst, meanwhile, for public employment—always great in France, from that passion for individual elevation which was the secret spring of the Revolution—rose to a perfect mania, and contributed greatly to the rapid progress of the system of *centralisation*. Each prefect of a department, holding all the patronage within his jurisdiction, was (as Napoleon remarked) “*a little emperor*,” but he derived all his authority from the appointment of the monarch, in whom was also vested the nomination of all civil, ecclesiastical, military, or naval functionaries of every degree. But notwithstanding all the executive vigour resulting from this system, no one knew better than Napoleon that it was not thus that the foundation for a durable dynasty could be laid. “*An aristocracy*,” said he, “is the only true support of a monarchy;” and to supply this defect was the constant effort of his life. In pursuance of this scheme he had, soon after Austerlitz, created most of his marshals and ministers princes or dukes, by titles taken from some ancient possession; but the formal re-establishment was by a decree of the Senate on 11th March 1808, by which the titles of prince, count, baron, and chevalier were restored, and conferred with great profusion; most of the new noblesse being endowed with estates and revenues in the conquered countries. The speeches on this occasion in the legislative body, many of its members of which had voted for the abolition of nobility in 1793, were singular monuments of political tergiversation: but still the efforts of Napoleon (in pursuance of his favourite scheme of amalgamation, or *fusion* as he called it) to effect a union between these exalted soldiers of fortune and the remains of the old noblesse, who he had recalled, met with but limited success. The remnant of old republicans, the resto-

ration of hereditary distinctions was especially unpalatable; but, on the other hand, the path of honour now lay open to all; and the aspiring temper of the Tiers Etat was gratified by the possibility that every peasant's son might attain these prizes. All the forms of the old etiquette were now revived at the Tuileries with increased splendour and minuteness of detail; and such was the state of the imperial court, that instances occurred of seven kings being seen waiting at one time for an audience of Napoleon.

447. The despotism of the Imperial rule, however, was regular, conservative, and systematic; and everything presented an aspect of order and tranquillity. The stoppage of external commerce gave a vast impetus to domestic industry and internal traffic; and the manufacturers, free from all foreign competition, were roused into more than former activity, by the vast public expenditure, in which must be included the enormous sums levied from half Europe, in the shape of subsidies and contributions—all of which were laid out for the benefit of the French people. On his return from Austerlitz, the Emperor had found the treasury empty, and the bank nearly insolvent; but the plunder of the next campaign gave him a year's revenue in advance in the state coffers, besides a large reserved treasure in the vaults of the Tuileries. All the armies quartered before the frontier, moreover, were maintained and paid by the contributions of the countries occupied; so that, as long as the rule of Napoleon endured over foreign nations, no want of money was ever felt at headquarters. Hence were derived the funds for the execution of the magnificent public works which illustrate this era—roads, bridges, canals, and dockyards—colleges for instruction in all branches—and public monuments commemorating some of the glorious deeds of this brilliant period, works which, for a long time, and the people at large, dazzled by the splendour of the spectacle, yielded to the illusion that the Revolution, started in violence, and baptised in blood, was now to shine forth in a blaze of unprecedented glory.

448. But all these glories and substantial advantages were but

the gilding of the chains of servitude. The Imperial Code made its appearance, Feb. 1, 1810; and of the offences which it enumerated, no less than 220 were state offences, so minutely subdivided and specified, as in effect to render amenable to punishment every one obnoxious in the smallest degree to government. By a decree of 2d March in the same year, eight state prisons were established in France, and were soon filled with a strange and incongruous assemblage. Those in the north were chiefly occupied by Bourbonists and democrats: those in the south by ecclesiastics who had been involved in the fall of the Pope: but numbers were imprisoned for no other reason than having accidentally incurred the jealousy of the Emperor or his ministers. A decree by Napoleon, or his minister of police, was a warrant for the arrest of any individual, who was paraded through the streets, loaded with chains like a malefactor, and consigned to the gloomy oblivion of the state prisons. The universality of the Imperial sway added fearfully to its terrors; except in Russia, Turkey, or Britain, Europe afforded no asylum for the victim of tyrannic persecution. A despotism was thus effectually maintained, unparalleled for rigour and severity in modern times: not a whisper of discontent or resistance was heard; and all classes vied in adulation of the ruler who was visibly draining the heart's blood of the country.

449. It was in the enforcement of the conscription that the greatest difficulty was experienced. During the ten years of the Empire, not less than 2,300,000 conscripts were voted by the legislature, and furnished by the nation; and of these 2,200,000 perished in the service of the Emperor! Penalties of the severest description were denounced against the refractory or deserters, till evasion became almost impossible: and the practical result was, that the whole youth of the nation, of the requisite age, and capable of undergoing its fatigues, were voluntarily or involuntarily enrolled in the profession of arms.

450. The system of public instruction was also calculated to favour the same tendency. Except the ecclesiastical schools, only

one of which was in each department, the whole control of education was in the hands of a body called the Imperial University; but this institution was wholly different from a university in our sense of the term. It was rather a vast system of instructing police diffused over the country, and dependent on a central board, consisting of a grand-master, with numerous high functionaries under him. The successive stages were through schools of primary instruction, colleges, and lyceums—from the last of which the most deserving youths were transferred to the military academies, or the Polytechnic School at Paris. The course of education was conducted on the strictest principles of military subordination: the pupils were classed in ranks, and treated as officers, and their studies sedulously directed to encourage a spirit of devotion to the Emperor, and a love of time of military aggrandisement. Thus, by means of the government all the known modes of enslaving the people were forced, by the conscription, all the physical strength of the subjects into the ranks of war, while their minds were kept thrall'd by terrors of the police and the censorship of the press; and by this system of centralised education, he apparently aimed at throwing still more irremovable chains over the minds of future generations.

II. *The Continental Expedition—War between Russia and Britain.*

451. The treaty of Tilsit was far from being received at St. Petersburg with the same satisfaction as at Paris. Although Russia had extricated herself unscathed from the strife, she had still lost in the object of the war; the nobles, moreover, were weary of the adoption of the Continental System, the loss of the principal market for their produce; and so strong was this feeling of discontent, that Savary, when he appeared in the Russian capital as ambassador of France, received not a single invitation to any private entertainment. The political changes resulting from the partition of Poland were in progress. New constitutions, framed by

Talleyrand, were imposed on the grand-duchy of Warsaw (July 22) and the Kingdom of Westphalia, (Dec. 15.) By the former, the ducal crown was declared hereditary in the house of Saxony, the Grand-duke being invested with the whole executive; while a shadow of representation appeared in a senate of eighteen, and a chamber of deputies of one hundred members, without power of open discussion. The Westphalian constitution was also wholly on the French model, consisting of a king, state-council, and silent legislature; all exclusive privileges were abolished, and trial by jury introduced: the contingent of the kingdom, as part of the Confederation of the Rhine, was fixed at 20,000 soldiers.

452. The Hanse Towns and Rhenish states, meanwhile, found themselves grievously disappointed in their hope that the peace would deliver them from the scourge of warlike armaments and military contributions. Dantzic, which was to have been a free city, was occupied by a French garrison under Rapp; but it was on the people of Prussia that the hand of conquest fell heaviest. Hard as were the ostensible conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, they were greatly aggravated in the course of the exaction. Besides the war contribution of £24,000,000, fresh claims, to the amount of £5,600,000, were brought forward after the peace by Daru, the French receiver-general for North Germany; the principal fortresses were retained in pledge for the payments; while 150,000 men were quartered on the country and maintained at its expense. The king was further bound, by a supplementary convention, not to keep on foot more than 42,000 men, to adopt the Continental System, and to declare war against Britain. To all appearance the power of Prussia was completely destroyed; but the spirit of the King and the nation was unbroken; and though Hardenberg was driven from office by the jealousy of Napoleon, he found a worthy successor in Baron Stein, who now became minister of the interior. The admirable reforms which he introduced may be considered as the Magna Charta of the peasants and burghers, on whom he first conferred the right of holding land; and though soon exiled, like Hardenberg, on the requisition of France, he continued from his retreat

in command to direct the Prussian councils, while the measures of Schenckendorff were equally effective in the war department. By the abolition of corporal punishment, and by throwing open to all the higher grades of the army, he revived the spirit of the soldiers; and by introducing brief periods of service, and constantly supplying the place of those discharged by fresh recruits, he silently prepared the materials of a formidable army, while the apparent numbers of the troops were scrupulously kept within the proscribed limits. Meanwhile, the secret associations of the Tugendbund, (society of bond of virtue,) having for their object the future deliverance of Germany, were formed and ramified throughout the country, in all ranks and classes, alike out-looked by the conquerors, combined in these fraternities, which were headed by some of the most exalted spirits of the age, and became, in after years, powerful auxiliaries in the overthrow of French despotism.

453. Austria, during these transactions, was employed in gradually repairing her losses; and had at length (Oct. 10) procured the evacuation of Braunau, which the French had held under various pretences, since the peace of Presburg. The King of Sweden had continued in arms since the peace of Tilsit; but blockaded in Stralsund by the overwhelming force under Marshal Brune, he first withdrew his troops to the isle of Rugen, and finally (Sept. 7) concluded a convention, the virtue of which he returned with his fleet and army to Sweden. But at the same moment, when the Continental war was drawing to a close, was struck by Great Britain which proved of the highest importance to the future prospects of the maritime powers.

454. In spite of the precautions of the two Emperors, the secret articles of Tilsit had become known to the British government; and the march of French troops towards Holstein indicated that Denmark would forthwith be summoned to place her fleet at the disposal of the new alliance. The cabinet of Copenhagen was known to be far from averse to this coalition; and the arrival of the French force would soon enable them to set Great Britain at defiance. No time was to be lost in such an emer-

gency. At the end of July, 27 ships of the line, carrying 20,000 troops, part of the force originally destined for the Elbe, sailed for Denmark, and were joined by 10,000 more under Lord Cathcart, who had been acting with the Swedes in Pomerania. The whole force appeared off Copenhagen on the 4th of August, and immediately stationed a squadron in the Great Belt to cut off the communication between the isle of Zealand and the shores of Jutland. To the terms offered by the British commanders—who, disclaiming all idea of conquest or capture, demanded the fleet in deposit till the conclusion of a general peace—a positive refusal was returned by the Prince Royal, (Aug. 16 :) the troops were landed the same day, and the investment of the capital was soon completed. A body of militia, hastily assembled, was routed at Kiøge by a corps under Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose name, already illustrious in Indian warfare, then first appeared in high command in Europe. But the Danes were wholly unprepared for resistance; and after a three days' bombardment of Copenhagen, in which great damage was done to the city, their stubborn valour was compelled to give way, (Sept. 5,) and a capitulation was signed. The British took possession of the citadel and arsenals till the fleet could be rigged and equipped; and at the beginning of October returned to Britain, bringing with them their magnificent prize, consisting of 18 ships of the line and 15 frigates, besides brigs and small vessels.

455. A general outburst of indignation burst forth throughout Europe against the Copenhagen expedition; and it was vehemently attacked in parliament as a gross act of national iniquity, which no circumstances could justify or palliate. These accusations derived additional weight from the pertinacious refusal of the ministers to produce the secret articles of Tilsit, of which they alleged themselves to be in possession—a refusal dictated by an honourable regard for the safety of those persons through whose agency the information had been obtained, but which led at the time to serious doubts whether such articles really existed.*

* It was not till the death (in 1817) of the person who furnished the intelligence, that the particulars were communicated to parliament.

But the other secret stipulations were not long in being acted upon. Early in August, a show was made by Russia of offering her mediation to Great Britain for the conclusion of a general peace; but as Mr Canning required, as a pledge of the sincerity of the Czar, a frank declaration of the secret articles of Tilsit, the proposal fell to the ground. While matters were in this state, the Copenhagen expedition took place, when, in answer to the reclamations of Russia, the British ambassador, Lord Leveson Gower, justified the measure by avowing his knowledge of the articles in question. The Cabinet of St Petersburg, however, still continued to hesitate, till the pressing demands of Napoleon (who had been struck down sick by the promptitude of the stroke at Copenhagen) finally decided the Emperor Alexander on acting up to the pledge to which he had personally engaged himself at Tilsit. The principles of the Armed Neutrality were once more proclaimed, and war was declared against Great Britain early in November.

456. Immediately after the departure of the British, Denmark had concluded (Oct. 16) an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, and Sweden was now summoned by Russia to join the Continental League. But the King, faithful to his engagements, resolutely refused submission; on which war was declared against him early in 1808, and an overwhelming force poured into Finland, the seizure of which by Russia had been agreed on at Tilsit. Napoleon, meanwhile, had made a show of fulfilling his engagements to the Porte by proposing his mediation with Russia, and an armistice had actually been concluded, (Aug. 1807.) But as the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia was constantly delayed, the Turks speedily became aware that they were deceived by France, and prepared to renew the war.

457. In the autumn, Napoleon set out for Italy, where important political changes were to be made. The last vestiges of representative government were suppressed in the kingdom of Italy by the summary abolition (Nov. 20) of the legislative body; and the puppet King of Etruria was forced to give up his dominions, which were incorporated with France under the title of the

and the island of Corsica, and of all the eastern provinces of the Empire, thus completed the communication between the two great nations of Europe, to the latter of which they were annexed. The territory of France was also rounded in other quarters by the acquisition of Flushing from Holland, and of the Rhenish, Sambre, and Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine.

And all these usurpations were trifling compared with those on the point of taking place in the Peninsula. As these were, however, both in their nature and their ultimate results, the most important and eventful of the whole revolutionary period, the elucidation of the circumstances leading to them must be reserved for a separate section.

III. *Origin of the Peninsular War.*

459. No sooner had Napoleon returned to Paris than his mind reverted to his designs on the Peninsula. The seizure of Portugal had, indeed, been planned as far back as 1806, when an "army of the Gironde," numbering 30,000 men, was assembled at Bayonne under Junot; but this threatened invasion had been postponed by the Prussian war. At the same time, the cabinet of Madrid discovered that Napoleon was offering to alienate, without their consent, considerable portions of the Spanish dominions—as Puerto Rico to Great Britain, and the Balearic Isles to the King of Naples, in exchange for Sicily. As Spain had for ten years submitted to the turn of her trade and navy, and paid an enormous war-subsidy in support of the French alliance, their indignation at the detection of this perfidy was boundless. A secret convention against France was concluded (Aug. 25, 1806) with the Russian ambassador at Madrid; and a proclamation calling the nation to arms was issued (Oct. 5) by the Prince of the Peace. The battle of Jena put an end to these schemes; but Napoleon, though he appeared satisfied with the assurance that the projected armaments had been against the Moors, availed himself of their trepidation to expand the portion of the flower of

their troops, under the Marquis de Bonnaire, to the Baltic, thus weakening the Peninsula of Spain. But he still clearly perceived how easily a British army might be brought, from this unexpected quarter, to the assistance of France; he felt, like Louis XIV., that there was no safety in the French alliance. After the peace of 1763, he had been engaged in financing operations. His first step (Aug. 12, 1807) was to persuade Portugal to adopt the Continental System. The Prince Regent, unable to resist, was compelled to close his harbours against British ships, and declare war against Britain; but he refused to confiscate the property of the British merchants. Junot upon this received orders to march, and crossed the Bidassoa accordingly, (Oct. 19;) thus commencing the PENINSULAR WAR.

460. The Spanish royal family was at this time distracted by intrigue to a degree unprecedented even in the darkest periods of Italian faction. The King, Charles IV., though by no means destitute of talents or good qualities, was so extremely indolent, as to have surrendered the direction of affairs entirely to his Queen, a sensual and intriguing princess, and to her paramour, Don Manuel Godoy—a man, noble but decayed family, whom her criminal favour had raised from the rank of a private in the body-guard to absolute authority. Godoy was not naturally a bad man; and his administration was never disgraced by acts of cruelty; but his insatiable ambition had led him to conceive hopes of founding a new dynasty in Europe; and the jealousy of the bourgeoisie at his exorbitant influence had created a schism between the prince and his father. The Prince of Asturias, afterwards Ferdinand VII., was at this time twenty-four years of age, his character generally facile and luxurious, but liable to sudden and irresistible impetuosity. He had been a widower since 1803, and had lately, under the advice of his chief connexion, the Count Escoiquiz, made secret overtures to Napoleon for the hand of a princess of his family. But Napoleon had already other views on the Peninsula; and at last (Oct. 27) a secret treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, between

France and Spain, for the partition of Portugal ! According to this scheme, the northern and southern provinces of that kingdom were to be occupied by British troops, while a French army of 28,000 men marched through Spain directly on Lisbon ; and in order to prevent the escape of the Portuguese fleet, a Russian squadron of eight sail, under Admiral Kruzenshtern, steered at the same time through the Dardanelles into the Tagus. The central provinces of Portugal, when, were to remain in the hands of the French, as a pledge of peace ; the northern districts were to compel the King of Sardinia for the cession of his dominions to France, and the provinces of Estremadura were to be erected into a principality for Godoy (who had already, at the treaty of Bâle, received the famous title of Prince of the Peace ;) and Napoleon "guaranteed to his Catholic Majesty all his estates in Europe south of the Pyrenees."

461. The iniquity obvious on the face of this treaty was yet more detestable from the double perfidy meditated at the same time by Napoleon against both Godoy and the Spanish court, and which was so little disguised, that Junot from the first received orders to administer Portugal solely in the Emperor's name. His orders were to proclaim peace to Portugal, and alliance to the Prince-Regent, but meanwhile to press on, so as to secure the fleet and fortresses of Lisbon before the British could reach them. In pursuance of this perfidious policy, the French advanced by forced marches, in severe weather and by bad roads, with such haste that the army, composed chiefly of raw conscripts, became wholly exhausted, and had any resistance been offered, they might have been destroyed. Hurrying on like a band of robbers, subsisting often on nothing but chestnuts, and losing several hundred men a-day in the ravines and torrents, the leading bands of their disordered array approached Lisbon in the end of November.

462. The Portuguese capital, defended by strong forts garrisoned by 14,000 men, and with a British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith in the Tagus, might have opposed a glorious resistance. But the cabinet still continued irresolute, till an ominous line in

the *Moniteur*—the House of Braganza has ceased to reign;—showed that no submission could avert their fate; and the Prince-Regent announced, in a public proclamation, (Nov. 26,) his resolution to seek in Tmes the climate “the freedom of which Britain has become unworthy.” By the prompt aid of the British fleet was made ready for the escape of the Regent, accompanied by the infant Queen, the rest of the royal family, and carrying with him the crown and the treasure, embarked, and the lamentations of the people, who saw their ancient sovereigns thus leaving the land of their fathers, scarcely less audible than when the French vanguard, about 1600 strong, entered the city (Nov. 30) without opposition.

463. Junot immediately took military possession of the capital and surrounding provinces; while Elvas, Oporto, &c., were occupied by the Spaniards. The fate of the country was not long in suspense. On the 13th December the Portuguese standard was everywhere taken down, and replaced by the tricolor flag; a forced loan of £200,000 was levied from the merchants, and the people were universally oppressed. At length (Feb. 1, 1808) a proclamation from Napoleon was issued, appointing Junot governor of the whole kingdom, imposing a contribution of £4,000,000, (above double the annual revenue of the monarchy,) and ordering the administration to be carried on in the name of the French Emperor. The despair of the people, were instantly increased, and the best troops were marched off to France, and the remainder of the army disbanded; and a general system of senseless rapine and spoliation, of which Junot himself was the example, completed the degradation of the country and the misery of the inhabitants.

464. Events of not less importance were at the same time in progress in Spain. The overtures of Ferdinand for an imperial princess had been left unanswered by Napoleon; but Godoy speedily discovered that some private negotiation was on foot, and at length (Oct. 29) an order was obtained from the King for the arrest of the prince and the seizure of his papers. Though

their contents really indicated, were more than rancour against Godoy, and fears of being deprived of the succession through the influence of the favourite, they were made the grounds of a public accusation against Ferdinand, of conspiring against the father's life; and Charles IV., in a letter to Napoleon, (Oct. 30,) invoked the aid of his potent ally against his natural son. Napoleon, however, was resolved to keep clear of these domestic scandals, and the confession by Ferdinand of his proposal for an alliance with the Imperial family wrought an instant change in his favour. He was not knowing how far his relations with Napoleon were then carried: the matter was therefore cleared up, and the Prince, after a public profession of penitence, restored to his father's favour. But Escobiquiz, the Dukes of Infantado and San Carlos, and other partisans of Ferdinand, were exiled, and Napoleon, who had in truth not instigated this intrigue, saw with joy the opportunity afforded, by the hostility of the father and son, to dispossess both in his own favour.

465. It was not long before this resolution was acted upon. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, an army of 40,000 (soon raised to 60,000) men had been stationed at Bayonne, to support, if necessary, the force invading Portugal; and these troops, without any authority from Madrid, now crossed the frontier. Dupont, with 24,000 foot and 4500 horse, reached Valladolid on 9th January; an equal force soon followed; and 14,000 more, under Suchet, moved on Barcelona; while Godoy, lulled by the Emperor's dissipated sovereignty, ventured on no remonstrance, might endanger his brilliant prospects. The four great frontier fortresses, Pampeluna, Figueras, Barcelona, and San Sebastian, were surprised and seized in succession, under circumstances of almost incredible perfidy; and by the beginning of March, without a single shot being fired, the whole country north of the Ebro was virtually wrested from the Spanish crown. A formal demand was at the same time made (Feb. 27) for the cession of all this territory to France, an elusory equivalent being offered in Portugal.

466. The tendency of these measures could not be mistaken; and the arrival of Murat at Burgos, (March 12,) with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor," completed the alarm of the Spanish court. Godoy, now fully alive to the danger, counselled the King to follow the example of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and embark for his American dominions; and preparations were made at Aranjuez (March 16) for the journey of the royal family to Seville. It had, however, been rumoured that Ferdinand was extremely reluctant to sanction the flight of the court; and the people, who regarded him as the only hope of the nation, apprehending that he might be removed, rose (March 17) in furious tumult. The hotel of the Prince of the Peace was sacked by the mob; and though Godoy himself escaped the first fury of their rage, at length fell into their hands, and saved his life solely to the disposition of Ferdinand. The King, dejected by all, and conscious of the opprobrium of the obnoxious minister, consulted his own safety by abdicating the throne; and the Prince was proclaimed the same day, (March 19,) amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the people, as Ferdinand VII.

467. In the midst of these transports of popular joy, Murat, with the Imperial Guards and the corps of Moncey, was rapidly advancing from Burgos on Madrid. On learning the revolution at Aranjuez he redoubled his speed, entering Madrid on the 23d, surrounded by a brilliant army. His quarters in the palace of the Prince of the Peace. The following day Ferdinand made his public entry into the city, attended by an exulting crowd of 200,000 citizens and soldiers; but Murat, in spite of the obsequious flattery heaped on him, avoided every semblance of recognising him as king; while Charles and his queen, encouraged by the presence of the French, openly protested against the abdication as involuntary and invalid. The military posts were occupied by French troops; and it was soon announced that Napoleon in person had resolved on visiting Spain, in order to settle, by his powerful intervention, the affairs of the distracted Peninsula.

468. No sooner, in fact, had Napoleon received the account of the events at Aranjuez than his resolution was taken. On the following day (March 26) he offered the Spanish Crown to his brother Louis; and though it was instantly refused by that prince, the dethronement of the Spanish Bourbons was irrevocably determined. Savary, the unscrupulous agent of the Emperor's wishes, was forthwith sent to Madrid—ostensibly to compliment Ferdinand on his accession, but in reality to entrap him, by any means, into the power of the Emperor. Alternately cajoled and intimidated, Ferdinand at length (April 10) set out from Madrid to meet Napoleon; but not finding him at Burgos, as he expected, he was drawn on step by step—in spite of the remonstrances of the more sagacious of his counsellors, and the loud murmurs of the people in the districts through which he passed—till, on the 20th, he at last crossed the frontier, and, proceeding to Bayonne, committed himself to the honour of the French Emperor. On the same evening, after dining with Napoleon, he was followed to his hotel by Savary, and informed that he must instantly resign the throne in favour of a prince of the Napoleon dynasty.

469. While this act of unparalleled perfidy was in progress, Murat, at Madrid, had gained possession of the person of Godoy, who was immediately sent under escort to Bayonne; and the old King and Queen, acting under the insidious advice of the French chief to lay their grievances before Napoleon, soon after set out for the same place, where they arrived on the 30th April. But notwithstanding the complete success which had hitherto attended his machinations, Napoleon distinctly foresaw the disastrous results which might spring from a national revolt; and his instructions to Murat were precise, to avoid everything which might rouse into action the dormant energy of the Spanish character. But the military rudeness of Murat was ill adapted for this delicate task, and his precipitation and arrogance hastened the catastrophe which the Emperor was anxious to avoid. Sanguinary tumults had already occurred at Burgos, Toledo, and elsewhere, between the French soldiers and the inhabitants; and

the removal of the remainder of the royal family from Madrid (May 2) at length brought matters to a crisis. An immense crowd, which had assembled before the palace to oppose their departure, was dispersed by discharges of grape. Everywhere the people flew to arms; several French detachments were surrounded and cut off; and it was not till after a furious conflict, in which upwards of three hundred fell on either side, that tranquillity was restored. Had this been all, neither party could have been severely blamed for what was clearly an unpremeditated collision; but a darker tragedy was in preparation. Numbers of Spaniards were seized by order of Murat, on the charge of having been concerned in the tumult, dragged before a military commission, and forthwith shot in cold blood, without being allowed the consolations of religion. This atrocious massacre, equally impolitic and unjustifiable, at once kindled a deadly spark of national resentment: the tidings flew like wild-fire from district to district; and within a few days a general insurrection against the invaders had broken out through Spain.

470. The views of Napoleon, meanwhile, met with an unexpected obstacle in the firmness of Ferdinand, who persisted in refusing to yield his rights, with a pertinacity which Napoleon had not calculated upon in a Bourbon. No man knew better the value of at least a show of legal right to win the moral consent of nations; but the arrival of Charles IV. and the Queen at Bayonne soon relieved him from this embarrassment. The weak old King, completely deceived by Napoleon's apparent kindness, at once lent himself to his projects, declared the Aranjuez abdication compulsory and null, and demanded from Ferdinand and his brother the resignation of their claims, under pain of being proceeded against as traitors. After scenes of scandalous recrimination, in which the violence of the Queen exceeded all bounds of decorum, a conditional renunciation, subject to the approbation of the Cortes, was at length (May 1) extorted. But Ferdinand still refused an absolute resignation, and even authorised a secret deputation, which reached him from the provisional government of Madrid to exercise the functions of sovereignty

as long as he continued deprived of his liberty. The tidings of the bloody commotion at Madrid, however, exhausted Napoleon's forbearance ; and Ferdinand, informed that he must choose between submission and death, at length (May 10) signed the act of abdication, confirming a deed by which his father had previously (May 5) resigned for himself and his descendants the crown of Spain and the Indies. Pensions and estates were assigned to all the royal captives except the Queen of Etruria, who was left wholly unprovided for ; and they were soon after removed to Valençay, a seat of Talleyrand's, in the heart of France, where they continued during the remainder of the war.

471. The other arrangements were soon made. The throne, refused by Louis, was conferred on Joseph, the King of Naples, whose kingdom was thus left vacant for Murat ; the authorities at Madrid, exhorted to submission by proclamations from both Charles and Ferdinand, were won over without much difficulty by mingled threats and promises ; and an assembly of a hundred and twenty Spanish Notables was convoked at Bayonne, to afford the colour of popular sanction to the change of dynasty. Joseph, who had no choice but to obey, quitted with regret the peaceful shores of his Italian realm, and, arriving at Bayonne on 6th June, was the same day proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies.

472. In the annals of the world there is not to be found a more atrocious system of perfidy, fraud, and dissimulation, than that by which Napoleon won the Peninsular kingdoms. After drawing off the flower of the Spanish troops into Germany, he entered into an agreement with Alexander for the seizure of both these monarchies, purchasing his consent by the abandonment of his own Turkish ally. He next concluded a treaty with Spain for the partition of Portugal, which was cast to the winds immediately after the occupation of that country ; meanwhile the frontier fortresses of Spain were seized in a moment of profound peace, the capital occupied by French troops, and the royal family, by the mingled influence of terror and hope, inveigled to Bayonne, only to hear their sentence of dethronement pronounced by their ally !

IV. Spanish War—*Battle of Corunna.*

473. From the earliest times, the military character and mode of warfare of the Spaniards has been marked by peculiar characteristics. Inferior to many other nations in firmness to withstand the first shock, they are superior to all in the quickness with which they rally, and their invincible tenacity under defeat and disaster. When their armies are routed and their plains overrun, the numerous mountain-chains intersecting the country afford a refuge for their broken bands; the cities make a desperate though insulated defence; and from the wreck of all organised resistance emerges the formidable guerilla warfare. The geographical features of the country have had a principal share in producing this effect. The whole surface may be considered as constituting a vast mountainous promontory, with plains of admirable fertility stretching to the sea on the east and west; while in the interior is found an assemblage of lofty ridges and steep, desert plains, in the centre of which, 1800 feet above the level of the sea, stands the city of Madrid. The great rivers consequently run to the east and west by long courses, fed by tributary streams flowing down ravines often of surprising depth. The roads are often mere mountain paths, and little communication is kept up between the towns; while the cities are neither numerous nor opulent—the largest, next to the capital, not containing more than eighty thousand inhabitants.

474. Thus intersected in every quarter by long rocky ridges, forming a barrier, almost as complete as the Alps or Pyrenees, between province and province, it may readily be imagined what extraordinary advantages the Peninsula presents to insulated and defensive warfare; and the character of the population is marked by a similar tendency. The lapse of centuries had failed to amalgamate the various races united under a single monarchy—the local antipathies of the Castilians, the Catalonians, the Aragonese, &c., had lost little of their ancient ferocity; and even when one quarter did not lead to submission,

in another ; and the provinces, when severed from each other, were always ready to maintain an independent defence. The almost universal corruption and degeneracy of the nobles had not infected the peasantry, who were everywhere an athletic, abstemious, enduring race, calculated to become the basis of an admirable army. Untainted by revolutionary passions, and warmly attached to their clergy, whose spiritual ascendancy was strengthened by the beneficence and charity with which they administered the vast estates of the church, the rural population everywhere flew to arms at the voice of their pastors, while the citizens were inflamed to equal zeal from opposite motives. The dissolution of government had thrown political power into the hands of the juntas of the cities ; revolutionary energies were called into activity by the very necessity which had everywhere thrown the people on their own resources ; and thus the two most powerful and usually antagonist motives which can agitate mankind—religious enthusiasm and democratic ambition—were brought for a time into cordial union by the pressure of common danger.

475. Such was the country destined to become the great battlefield between France and Britain. The balance of force, in appearance at least, preponderated enormously in favour of Napoleon, who had at his disposal 600,000 French soldiers—including 70,000 horse—and at least 150,000 from the subject states ; and the quality of this vast force was even more formidable than its magnitude. Strong in the experience of fifteen years of warfare, terrible in the remembrance of a hundred triumphs, they were preceded by a prestige of victory, subduing the minds of men into that belief of their invincibility which was the surest means of realising it ; and their actual efficiency was not inferior to their renown. The system of promotion by merit, and the certainty of advance in rank which the consumption of life in battle afforded to the survivors, at once kept alive the military spirit, and insured the inestimable advantage of tried valour and skill in the officers of all grades, on whom the effectiveness of an army in the field must at all times principally depend. Yet the British army was

far more efficient, both in discipline and experience, than was generally supposed on the Continent. In the spring of 1808, it consisted of 200,000 regulars—including 28,000 cavalry—80,000 militia for home service, nearly equal to the troops of the line, and 200,000 volunteers. Great part of this force was indeed absorbed in the defence of the colonies, but 100,000 men, including 20,000 cavalry, were still disposable; and the vast improvements of the Duke of York, in discipline and organisation, had tended greatly to foster that undaunted moral resolution which has in all ages formed the great characteristic of British soldiers. The animating conviction of their own superiority in actual combat never forsook them; and though in service as light troops, cheerfulness under fatigue, and practical ingenuity, the French for a long time had the advantage, the British from the first bore off the palm when it came to the contact of the hostile lines. Their cavalry, though irresistible in a single charge, was scarcely equal to the French for the protracted fatigues of a campaign; but their artillery was second to none in the world; and in steadiness in action, and the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, the British infantry was unquestionably the first in Europe. In one important point the British army differed totally from the French—the officers, taken entirely from the higher classes, were separated from the private soldiers by an almost impassable line; and the severe corporal punishments by which discipline was enforced, were in some measure necessary from the rank of society whence the recruits were almost exclusively drawn. But the British soldier was better fed, clothed, lodged, and paid, than any other in Europe; and the system of pensions, varying according to length or amount of service, secured for the veteran, the maimed, or the wounded, an adequate maintenance for the rest of his life.

476. Nor was the actual inequality so great in the progress as in the outset of this momentous struggle. Napoleon indeed had, at the commencement of the war, 115,000 feet and 16,000 horses in the Peninsula, and the principal strongholds were in his hands. Subsequently, his force at one period exceeded 300,000

men; while there were never 50,000 British soldiers in the Peninsula, and for the next three years not more than half that number. Still the army, of which this force formed the nucleus, with Portuguese levies of equal amount, disciplined by British officers, soon became extremely formidable, and its central position in Portugal gave it great advantages over the enemy in receiving supplies by sea; so that, whenever Wellington hazarded a battle, the numbers never differed so greatly as might have been expected from the discrepancy in the sum-total. The military force of Spain was far from formidable, either in numbers or composition: at the outbreak there were not 70,000 troops in the country, and the officers, chiefly taken from the lower ranks of gentry, were extremely deficient both in military knowledge and spirit. The Portuguese army was at first in even a more disorganised state than that of its neighbour; but the *ordenanzas*, or local militia, afforded a good basis, and the Portuguese troops, when recast by the skill, and led by the courage of British officers, were not long in forming excellent soldiers.

477. In the original disposition of his troops, Napoleon aimed principally at overawing the capital, round which 50,000 men were concentrated. Bessières had 23,000 around Burgos and Vitoria, and 15,000 were under Duhesme in Catalonia. Such was their situation when the insurrection broke out, in all the provinces, with as much vigour and unanimity as if an electric shock had pervaded the population. Separate and independent juntas sprang up in each province; and before the middle of June, 150,000 men in arms were ready to support the regular army. In the north, the movement was unattended by any violent ebullitions of popular fury; but in the south, where the fiery Moorish blood predominated, it was far otherwise. Numbers were massacred as partisans of the French: the governors of Cadiz and Badajoz were torn to pieces by the mob; and at Valencia still more frightful atrocities were committed. An ecclesiastic, named Balthazar Calvo, heading the populace, instigated the slaughter (June 5) of three hundred inoffensive French residents; but the reign of terror was ere long

After a desperate struggle, the French penetrated into the streets; but the Spaniards, constructing barricades, and firing from the roofs and windows, maintained the conflict with unflinching obstinacy from street to street, house to house, and room to room, from the 4th to the 14th of August. Even the women and children took part in the mortal struggle; and a reinforcement of 5000 men having at last appeared, the enemy retreated on the morning of the 15th, abandoning all their heavy cannon and siege stores.

481. The movement of Moncey from Madrid on Valencia had not been more successful. Though he routed with loss a motley force which opposed him (June 24) at the rocky ridge of the Cabrillas, on the western boundary of the province, he found the Valencians, who were conscious that their recent enormities left them no hope of mercy, prepared to defend themselves with the courage of despair. After losing 2000 men in a fruitless attempt (June 28) to storm the hastily-constructed defences in front of the city, he was compelled to retreat towards Madrid, where Savary (who had succeeded Murat as lieutenant of the Emperor) was collecting all his troops to repel the advance of Cuesta and Blake from Galicia, which threatened to intercept the communication between Bayonne and the capital. The dispositions of Savary, however, were so vacillating and perplexed, that before any reinforcements reached Bessières, that marshal had gained a great victory, with only 15,000 men, over 26,000 Spaniards at Rio-Seco, in the plains of Leon, (July 19). Contrary to the advice of his colleague, Cuesta had determined to risk his army, half of which consisted of new levies, in a general action: his dispositions were as faulty as his rashness was ill advised; and the battle, though for some time bravely contested by the regular regiments, ended in a total rout. Three thousand fell on the field; 2000 prisoners and 18 guns were taken; and the confidence of the Spanish soldiers was completely broken. Napoleon, now deeming the war over, quitted Bayonne for Paris; while Joseph pursued his journey in security to Madrid, which he entered, as already stated, on the 21st of July.

482. But while the French Emperor and his brother were

When these hopes, a blow had been struck in Andalusia, and the sound of cannon rolled from one end of the peninsula to the other. Dupont, a general of high military reputation, had marched from Toledo at the end of May, and, after some partial encounters with the insurgents, reached Cordova, (June 8.) Though scarce any resistance had been made, the city was given up, during several days, to all the horrors of war; rapine and slaughter were universal; even the venerable cathedral, once the mosque of the Moorish caliphs, was stripped of its wealth and ornaments; and the general himself and his officers were foremost in the work of plunder. But during his halt at Cordova, the insurgents had hemmed him in in such numbers that he gave up all further advance into Andalusia as hopeless, and, commencing his retreat, (June 16,) reached Andujar in three days. Here, encumbered by the number of his sick, he remained inactive for three weeks, awaiting reinforcements; while Castanos, at the head of 22,000 regulars, and 30,000 armed peasants, was taking measures for enveloping him, and forcing him to surrender. The divisions of Vedel and Gobert at last reached Baylen, on their way to join him; but Gobert was routed and killed (July 16) by Reding, a brother of the intrepid Swiss patriot; and Dupont, who had imprudently separated his own corps from that of Vedel, was assailed (July 19) by superior numbers under the same general in front of Baylen. The French, encumbered with innumerable waggons conveying the booty of Cordova, were thrown into disorder; two Swiss regiments abandoned the French standards, and joined their countrymen in the hostile ranks; and the appearance of Castanos in the rear completed the confusion. Deeming extrication hopeless, Dupont proposed an armistice, in which the division of Vedel was also included; and after a fruitless attempt to procure favourable terms of capitulation, the whole force, to the number of 20,000, laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war, on condition of being sent to France.

483. Language can scarcely convey an adequate idea of the impression which this event produced in Europe. Since the opening

arrested by the rigour of the junta, and Calvo, his accomplices, suffered death. These deplorable excesses called forth the energies of the higher orders, in order to stem the torrent; and the wisdom and prudence of the junta at the head of which was Saavedra, late minister of state, gave that body a kind of tacit pre-eminence. On the 10th of June they issued an eloquent manifesto, formally declaring war against France; and on the 14th, the first important blow was struck, by the bombardment and capture of the French squadron under Admiral Rosilly, lying in the harbour of Cadiz.

478. In the north the revolt had broken out with equal enthusiasm; and an extraordinary sensation was produced in Britain by the arrival of deputies from the junta of Oviedo, soliciting aid. The Spanish troops at Oporto were recalled to the defence of their own country, and speedily arrived in Galicia; while Napoleon, fully impressed with the danger of the contest, poured reinforcements into Spain with all possible expedition. The civil changes in progress at Bayonne were at the same time actively pursued. The assembled notables, and the late counsellors of Ferdinand, vied with each other in adulation of the new monarch; and the constitution, framed by Napoleon, was unanimously accepted on the 15th June. The legislature was to consist of a Senate of 80 members, named by the King; and a Cortes of 182, comprising 25 lay and as many ecclesiastical peers, and 132 deputies—partly elected by the provinces and municipalities, and partly selected by the King from lists presented to him! On the 9th of July, King Joseph set out for Madrid, which he reached on the 20th; and his choice of his ministers, who were chiefly those of Ferdinand, throws a deep shade of doubt over their fidelity to their former unfortunate master.

479. Future ages will find it difficult to credit the enthusiasm with which the tidings of the Spanish revolt were received in Britain. All classes joined in exultation: the aristocratic party rejoicing that the wave of revolution had at last broken on a rugged shore; while the lovers of freedom hailed it as the first real effort of the people in the war. It was from the Opposition

hence that the first parliamentary notice of these animating events proceeded, when Mr Sheridan (June 15) eulogised in a splendid speech the generous patriotism of the Spaniards, and called on the government to engage deeply and earnestly in the war. Animated by such powerful support from an unexpected quarter, the government made most liberal provision for the prosecution of the war; envoys were sent to all the provincial juntas, and supplies to an enormous amount, in arms, money, and stores, poured into Spain. The war-charges for the year (including a subsidy of £1,100,000 to Sweden) reached the prodigious sum of £48,300,000: the total expenditure was £84,797,000, and the total income £86,780,000, including a loan of £12,000,000—but the unexpected expenses in Spain gave rise, besides this, to a liberal issue of exchequer bills, which fell heavily on future years.

480. The first military operations of importance were those of Bessières in Biscay and Old Castile, where, by sending forth columns in all directions, from Burgos as a centre, he succeeded (June 6-12) in crushing the revolt through all the level country in the upper valley of the Douro. Lefebvre, with 5000 foot and 800 horse, had been directed against Saragossa; and after thrice routing (June 12, 13, 14) the Aragonese levies under the gallant Palafox, he appeared on the 15th before that heroic city. Saragossa, standing in a plain and surrounded only by a low brick wall, can scarcely be said to be fortified; “but the valour of the inhabitants” (as Colmenar prophetically said, a century before) “supplies the want of ramparts.” Repulsed in two successive attacks, Lefebvre left the prosecution of the siege to General Verdier, who succeeded (June 27) in carrying the Torrero, a height commanding the town, whence he kept up a vigorous bombardment; but neither this, nor repeated assaults on the gates, shook the firmness of the citizens, and Verdier found it necessary to commence approaches in form. Palafox, who had issued from the walls in the hope of effecting a diversion, re-entered the city, (July 2,) having been again defeated; the slender defences were ruined by the French breaching batteries; and on the 2d August the assault was given.

of the revolutionary war, the career of the French armies had been one of almost unbroken success; but now a disaster, such as they had never sustained since the battle of Pavia, had overtaken their armies. False and incorrect statements even exaggerated the magnitude of the triumph; and it began to be thought that the superiority of regular troops was at an end, when opposed to patriotism and popular enthusiasm, a delusion through which oceans of blood were shed in Spain. Still the burst of triumph in the first days had a prodigious effect in determining many of the grandees to the popular side; while the intrusive king and his adherents, struck with consternation, evacuated Madrid (July 30) and retired to Burgos, where he established his headquarters. The effect produced by the news on Napoleon showed how fully he was aware of its importance. Never since Trafalgar had he been so overwhelmed; and Dupont and his officers, on their return to France, were imprisoned many years without trial or investigation. But with respect to the private soldiers, the convention of Baylen was violated in a manner disgraceful to the victors. Many were massacred in the first fury of triumph; the remainder, to the number of 18,000, were confined by order of the junta, in spite of the remonstrances of Castanos, in the hulks at Cadix, whence few ever revisited their native country.

484. In Catalonia, meanwhile, success had been more checkered. Two columns had been detached by Duhesme from Barcelona early in June—one of 4500 men, under Chabran, against Tortosa and Tarragona; the other, of 3500 under Schwartz, to co-operate with Lefebvre before Saragossa. But the success or tocsin was rung in all the hills; and Schwartz, though he forced the celebrated pass of Bruch, was ultimately obliged (June 6) to retreat with loss; and Chabran, who had already occupied Tarragona, was recalled on the news of this check. Stimulated by these advantages, the Catalans rose in arms *en masse*. Duhesme himself was foiled (June 20) in a *coup-de-main* which he attempted against Gerona; and the whole plain of the Llobregat, up to the walls of Barcelona, was filled with the armed peasantry,

who were reinforced at the end of July by 6000 regular troops from the Balearic Isles. In a formal siege of Gerona (July 24, Aug. 15) undertaken by the express orders of Napoleon, Duhesme was again repulsed with the loss of 2000 men and all his artillery; and the French possessions in Catalonia continued restricted to Barcelona and the citadel of Figueras. The army of Castaños had entered Madrid in triumph from Andalusia, (Aug. 25) and the Spaniards in general, intoxicated with joy, abandoned themselves to the illusion that their soil would soon be finally freed from its invaders.

485. We must now return to the progress of events in Portugal. The Spanish troops in Lisbon had been dispersed by Junot at the first outbreak of the outbreak in Spain; but those at Oporto had, as already noticed, escaped into Galicia, and the insurrection of Portugal itself was not long delayed. The students of Coimbra were among the first to take up arms; and a supreme junta was formed (June 9) at Oporto, under the direction of the bishop, who from the first signalled himself by patriotic zeal. In the northern provinces, the insurgent peasants were successful in repulsing the detachments sent against them; but Loison, with 7000 foot and 1200 horse, inflicted a signal defeat at Evora (July 29) on the patriots of the Alentejo. This victory was sullied by the most savage cruelty: 8000 inhabitants of the town, armed and unarmed, were indiscriminately slaughtered; and Loison was continuing his blood-stained progress towards Elvas, when he received the news that a British army had appeared off the coast of Portugal.

486. The British government having determined to send out powerful military aid to the Peninsula, intrusted the command, in the first instance, to Sir Arthur Wellesley, already gloriously known, by his Indian achievements, as the victor of Assaye, and more recently by the easier overthrow of the Danish militia; and 10,000 men were placed under his orders, who had been assembled at Cork by the late ministry for an expedition to South America. Sir John Moore, then in Sweden with 12,000 men, was also recalled for the same purpose, and two smaller divisions set sail from Ramsgate and Margate.

487. The force under Sir Arthur sailed from Cork, (July 12) and, after the general had communicated with the junta of Galicia at Oronna—where he learnt the defeat of Rio Seco—arrived in Mondego Bay, (July 30). The disembarkation of the troops—now raised to 13,000 by the arrival of General Spencer from the Bay of Cadiz—was effected in the first days of August; and on the morning of the 9th the advance was commenced. Though not more than 1600 Portuguese troops, under General Freire, joined the British, the peasantry everywhere welcomed their allies with enthusiasm, and the first encounter took place on the 17th. General Laborde, with about 5000 men, had taken post on an elevated plateau in front of the village of Alcañices, and attempted to hold the British in check till Junot had completed his arrangements; but the heights were gallantly carried by the 29th regiment, whose colonel, Lake, was killed while cheering them on; and the French, finding their flanks menaced, drew off in good order, having lost 600 men and 3 guns: the British loss was about 500. Junot, meanwhile, advancing from Lisbon, joined Laborde at Torres-Vedras, but their whole disposable force was only 14,000 men; while Wellesley, reinforced by the arrival of Ackland's and Anstruther's brigades, had 16,000, but scarcely any cavalry. His original plan had been to outflank the French, and cut off their retreat to Lisbon: but this movement was forbidden as hazardous by Sir Harry Burrard, his superior in command, who was now off the coast; and Junot, continuing his advance, came in front of the British at Vimeira, (Aug. 20.)

488. Early in the morning of the 21st, the attack was commenced on the British centre by a column of 6000 men under Laborde; but no sooner had they reached the summit of the hill than the British artillery and shrapnel-shells—then first used—spread havoc through their ranks, and a charge with the bayonet by the 50th completed their repulse. A second attempt was not more successful; and the French right, under Solignac, after a severe contest with Ferguson's brigade, was at last driven headlong down the steep by so tremendous a rush with the bayonet

that the whole front line of our army, amounting, above 2000 men, went down like grass before the enemy. An attempt to retrieve the day with Brennier's division, and the reserve under Kellerman, though at first successful, also terminated in complete disaster. Brennier was taken prisoner, and the British were pressing for a triumph, when they were suddenly halted by an order from Sir Harry Burrard. The French on this reformed their broken ranks, and fell back towards the north-east, having lost 2000 killed and wounded, 13 guns, and 400 prisoners. Their line of retreat left open the road from Torres-Vedras to Lisbon; and Sir A. Wellesley instantly proposed to follow up the victory by an advance on the capital, which would have driven the French to a disastrous retreat into Spain. But this manoeuvre was overruled, arising for Sir Harry Burrard, a cautious veteran, and the French, to the infinite chagrin of Sir Arthur, who suffered to regain, by a long circuit, the important defile. On the morning of the 22d, however, Sir Harry was in his turn superseded by the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple—so that within thirty hours there had been three successive commanders-in-chief!—and an advance on Torres-Vedras was at length resolved on, when, on the 23d, Kellerman arrived at the outposts with a proposal from Junot for a suspension of arms.

489. It was, in truth, almost equally hazardous for the French marshal to attempt to resist the great superiority of forces which the arrival of Sir John Moore would soon give the already victorious British; or to retreat, through a difficult country and exasperated population, into Spain. A convention was accordingly concluded at Cintra (Aug. 23) for the evacuation of Portugal, by which the French army were to be sent back to France by sea, with their artillery, arms, and baggage; while the Russian fleet in the Tagus, by virtue of a separate convention, was to be carried to Britain. Some delay occurred in the execution of the convention, from the difficulty experienced in compelling the French to disgorge the ill-gotten treasure which they had amassed by the plunder of the country. Many disgraceful particulars of

the extraordinary and the most cruel were brought to light, implicating equally the highest and the lowest; but restitution to a certain extent was made. The fortresses of Elvas and Almeida were given up to the British on the 15th and 16th September, the whole French army, to the number of 15,000, sailed from the Tagus, and were disembarked in Portugal.

490. Posterity will scarcely be able to credit the burst of indignation with which this convention was received, both in the Peninsula and Great Britain. The Spaniards contrasted it with the unconditional surrender at Baylen; the Portuguese complained of the amount of plunder carried off under the denomination of private property; and the British perceived that, in the hope of seeing a marshal of France, they had brought themselves of war to Spithead, gave vent to their indignation. To such a length did the outcry proceed, that a court of inquiry was instituted, which acquitted all the generals of blame, though without allaying the public discontent. A more serious clamour, except that against Sir Robert Calder, was never set up; since the convention not only at once liberated Portugal, but, by securing an admirable fortified base for future operations, on the edge of the sea and the flank of the Peninsular plains, was, in fact, the foundation on which the whole future successes of the British arms were reared. Its importance was better appreciated by Napoleon: "I was about," said he, to send Junot to a council of war, but the British got the start of me by sending their generals to one."

491. The command of the troops, on the departure of the three generals to attend the inquiry, devolved on Sir John Moore, who had landed with his corps at Lisbon; while 15,000 more troops, under Sir David Baird, were expected at Corunna, to descend through Galicia, and co-operate in the advance. The Spanish troops, 6000 strong, who had been liberated at Baylen, were re-equipped and sent by sea to Catalonia; and means having been found to convey intelligence of the events in the Peninsula to the camps of Bonaparte, then serving Napoleon in Jutland, the greater part of this gallant body, to the number of

9500, effected their escape from among the French divisions, and were conveyed in British vessels to the coast of Galicia. The central government of Spain, after much discord and discussion, had meanwhile been vested in a supreme junta of thirty-five deputies from the different provinces, who met at Aranjuez, (Sept. 25.) This body, though it comprised Count Florida-Blanca, Jovellanos, and other eminent men and illustrious patriots, was composed, for the most part, of individuals unknown to public life, and raised to power solely by the pressure of the times: hence its proceedings presented an almost unvaried scene of cupidity, vanity, and imbecility, in which corruption pervaded every department—the magnificent supplies sent from Britain were wasted or embezzled, and nothing was foreseen or provided either for the armies or the state.

492. The disasters in Spain made the deepest impression on the far-seeing mind of Napoleon. The belief in his invincibility had been destroyed, and the effects were already beginning to appear. By a decree of 9th June, Austria had directed the formation of a *Landwehr* or local militia, which would afford a reserve of 300,000 men to the regular troops, and her explanations, when pressed by Napoleon, were far from satisfactory. To meet these dangers, a fresh conscription was ordered, of 160,000 men, half from those who attained the military age in 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and half from those of 1810—so far had the demands of the Emperor already exceeded the increase of the human race!—and a subsidiary treaty was concluded (Sept. 8) with Prussia, which released a considerable part of the force occupying that country. But Napoleon was well aware that the alliance with Russia was his true security beyond the Rhine, and a fresh interview was arranged between the two potentates for the settlement of the Continent.

493. Erfurth was selected as the place of meeting; and here Napoleon arrived, (Sept. 27,) Alexander having reached Weimar the evening before. The two emperors met amid the roar of cannon, the shouts of multitudes, and the cheers of ten thousand soldiers, and embraced with the strongest marks of mutual esteem. The

conferences continued for seventeen days: the forenoons were spent by the two monarchs in conversation of general politics, and their private plans of administration; they met alternately with each other, and the evenings were devoted to festivity and the theatre. The brilliant cortège of marshals, generals, and diplomats in attendance on the two sovereigns, with the crowd of princes who watched with obsequious attention the nod of Napoleon, presented such a spectacle of power and magnificence as the world had never yet seen; yet, amid this parade of friendship, the keener eyes of the spectators detected symptoms of decline from the machinery of Tilsit. In appearance, however, their cordiality continued unabated; a joint proposition for peace was addressed to the British cabinet, and, in apparent concession to the entreaties of Alexander, a considerable reduction was made in the burdens imposed on Prussia, whence the French troops (except the garrisons of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau) were ere long transferred to the Peninsula. Alexander gave his sanction to the changes in Spain, and to the promotion of Murat to the throne of Naples, and promised his aid to Napoleon in case of a war with Austria; while Napoleon assented to the schemes of Russian aggrandisement at the expense of Sweden and Turkey. But one irreconcilable point of difference (as it afterwards transpired) was Constantinople: Napoleon could not bring himself to yield this matchless prize to his northern rival, and this secret discord was not without its results. At length (Oct. 14) the conference broke up, and the two emperors parted, never to meet again.

494. Thus secured, as he conceived, on the side of Germany, Napoleon, with his wonted vigour, forthwith resolved to crush the Spaniards before the British could obtain a footing in the Peninsula; and accordingly set out for Bayonne at the end of October. Such vast reinforcements had been poured into Spain that, after deducting the garrisons and those in Catalonia, not less than 180,000 men remained disposable for service on the Ebro; while, to oppose this immense force, the Spaniards had 18,000 in Aragon, under Palafox, 30,000 Galicians under Blake at Rey-

ness, and 28,000 under Castanos in the centre—in all 76,000, but with only 2000 horse and 80 guns. The British auxiliaries were indeed approaching; but Napoleon, determined to deal with the Spaniards before they could come up, lost no time in commencing active operations. Prior to his arrival, the French had evacuated Tudela and Burgos, and had been driven from Bilbao (Sept. 23) by Blake; but the latter town was retaken by Lefebvre, (Oct. 31,) who also obtained a partial advantage over Blake at Tornosa. But no sooner had Napoleon arrived at Vitoria than he directed 40,000 men, under Victor and Lefebvre, against Blake, who had fallen back to Espinosa. The Spaniards numbered only 45,000, including the brave corps of Romana, yet they held their ground during the first day, (Nov. 10;) but the next morning their flank was turned by Victor, and a total rout ensued. Romana, with 10,000 men, made his way into Lebn; the remainder, attempting a stand (Nov. 13) at Reynosa, were so utterly overwhelmed by Bonst, who had already (Nov. 10) inflicted a disastrous defeat at Burgos on the Estremadurans under Belvidere, that Blake with difficulty rallied a few thousand half-naked fugitives in the heart of the Asturian mountains. The headquarters of the Emperor were established at Burgos, whence the country was scoured in all directions by the light troops, who completed the dispersion of the routed enemy.

495. Castanos and Palafox had now effected a junction at Tudela, where their united forces amounted to 39,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 40 guns. Before the two generals, however, could concur in any plan of operations, their disputes were brought to a close by the appearance of Larrea (Nov. 22) at the head of 35,000 men. The long scattered array of the Spaniards was pierced through the centre by the impetuous assault of the French; but the Spanish guards and the victors of Baylen, on the left, routed the troops opposed to them, and, when at last overborne by the accumulation of enemies, fell back in tolerable order by Calatayud to Madrid. But the army was completely discovered; the right under Palafox, to the number of 15,000, had been driven back in disorder to Saragossa, and the road to Madrid lay open

before Napoleon, who had accompanied the army in person. The only obstacle was the Somosierra pass, which was held by 12,000 men under General Juan ; but the Polish lancers of the guard, spurring right up the steep ascent, in the face of the foe, (Nov. 30,) stormed the batteries, and speared the artillerymen at their guns. The central junta fled precipitately from Aranjuez, and, on the morning of the 2d December, the French advanced guards appeared on the heights north of Madrid.

496. An indignant refusal was returned from the city to the summons to surrender, and a frightful scene of tumult and disorder ensued. Twenty thousand armed men, without discipline or organisation, paraded the streets with furious cries, the bells of all the churches and convents rang without ceasing, barricades were erected, and everything seemed to portend a desperate defence. But on the morning of the 3d, the heights of the Retiro, which completely command the city, were stormed by the French ; and the authorities, in terror of a bombardment, sent to propose terms of surrender. Napoleon received the deputies with great harshness, particularly reproaching Don Thomas Morla, late governor of Cádiz, with the breach of the convention of Baylen ; but submission was now inevitable, and at 10 A.M. on the 4th, Madrid was again occupied by the French. The most exact discipline was observed, and ere long the city resumed the appearance of tranquillity ; while numerous deputations waited on Joseph to renew their protestations of attachment and fidelity.

497. Napoleon himself established his headquarters at Chamartin, four miles from the city, whence he issued decrees for the abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the greater part of the convents, of the feudal rights, &c. Severe measures were directed against all who had joined the patriots, after having sworn allegiance to Joseph ; and five corps, under as many marshals, were sent to complete the reduction of the provinces. But there was yet another enemy, whom the Emperor had overlooked, or at least greatly underrated: this was the British army under Sir John Moore, who had long been extremely perplexed what

to do, from the imperfect and contradictory information which reached him. The repeated assurances which he received that Madrid would be defended to the last extremity, at length determined him to advance on the enemy's line of communication; and moving, accordingly, by Toro and Benavente, he effected his junction with Sir David Baird (Dec. 20) at Moyorga. On the 21st, a body of French cavalry were defeated in a brilliant skirmish at Sahagun, by the 10th and 15th light dragoons under Lord Paget; and Soult, seriously alarmed, called in his detachments from all quarters to resist the threatened attack.

498. But no sooner had the advance of Moore become known at Madrid, than the Emperor, instantly appreciating its importance, sent orders for suspending all the operations in the south; and, putting himself (Dec. 21) at the head of 50,000 of his best troops, including the guards and Ney's corps, marched to throw himself on the line of the British retreat, while Soult attacked them in front. Two days were consumed in crossing the gorges of the Guadarrama mountains, in the midst of a hurricane of wind and snow; but the march was pressed with indefatigable activity, and, by the 25th, Ney had interposed himself between the British and the Portuguese frontier. Had he succeeded in reaching Benavente before them, and thus cutting them off also from Galicia, their situation must have been hopeless; but the British general had early become aware of his danger—the retreat was already commenced, and the bridge of Castrogonzalo, over the swollen torrent of the Esla, destroyed. The French were thus detained for two days, during which (Dec. 28) the cavalry of the Imperial Guard were gallantly routed at the fords of the river by the British dragoons, and their commander, Lefebvre Desnouettes, made prisoner.

499. On the 30th, however, the French effected the passage, and on January 1, 1809, all their columns were concentrated at Astorga, having in ten days marched two hundred miles from Madrid, across snowy ranges and swollen rivers, in the depth of winter—an exertion almost unparalleled in modern times. But intelli-

gence here reached Napoleon, which left no doubt on his mind of the hostile designs of Austria ; and, instantly leaving the British to his lieutenants, he returned to Valladolid, and thence hastened with extraordinary rapidity by Burgos and Bayonne to Paris, which he reached on the 23d. The pursuit, however, was kept up with unabated vigour, and the condition of the British became daily more deplorable. Though the rear continued with unabated resolution to repel the enemy, who were worsted (Jan. 5) in a sharp skirmish at Villa-Franea, the rest of the line presented a frightful scene of misery, drunkenness, and disorder, which all the exertions of the general failed to restrain. At Lugo, where they halted two days, (Jan. 6-8,) Sir John Moore offered battle, but the combat was declined by Soult ; and on the 11th, after a forced night-march, the disorganised columns of the British entered Corunna, where the transports from Vigo arrived on the 14th.

500. For two days the French suffered the embarkation to proceed unmolested, but on the 16th their columns, 20,000 strong, were seen advancing to the attack ; and the British, now reduced to 14,000, were quickly arrayed to oppose them. The impetuosity of their onset at first drove the British from the village of Elvina, in front of the centre ; but the 50th and 42d quickly retook it at the point of the bayonet, and followed up their advantage so far, that they were in turn assailed and broken by fresh French regiments. But Moore, instantly bringing up a battalion of the Guards, again repelled the French with great slaughter ; and when nightfall separated the combatants, the victory of the British was decisive along the whole line. But in the moment of triumph Sir John Moore had been mortally wounded by a cannon-shot : he expired the same night, and was laid, wrapped in his cloak, in a hasty grave on the ramparts of Corunna, where a monument was afterwards erected by the generosity of Marshal Ney. In the course of the night, and succeeding day the embarkation was completed ; when the Spaniards, who had bravely manned the walls to protect the retreat of their allies, surrendered the town to Soult, who a few

days after occupied Ferrol, with its stores, and seven sail of the line in the harbour.

V. Fresh War with Austria—Battles of Landshut and Ecmuhl.

500. Since the unsuccessful struggle of 1805, the Austrian cabinet had observed a rigid and cautious neutrality, which not even the disasters of the French in the Polish campaign could tempt them to infringe: but this interval had not been idly spent. During 1806 and 1807, the war department was silently but industriously engaged in replenishing the arsenals and magazines, remounting the cavalry, &c.; while the infantry, under the zealous direction of the Archduke Charles, was remodelled on the French plan of corps and divisions, the efficiency of which had been so amply demonstrated in the campaigns of Napoleon. A decree was further issued (June 6, 1808) for the formation of a *landwehr* or national militia, the force of which, at first fixed at 200,000, was soon raised to 300,000, for the hereditary dominions alone: while the Hungarian diet, in addition to large supplies of recruits for the regular army, sanctioned the calling out the *insurrection* (or *levée en masse*) of 80,000 men. These armaments drew forth urgent remonstrances (August) from Napoleon, who clearly perceived their coincidence with the occurrences in Spain; but the address of Metternich, then ambassador at Paris, and the assurances of amity of which Baron Vincent was made the bearer to Erfurt in October, apparently lulled his suspicions. But decisive intelligence at length (Jan. 1, 1809) reached him, as already mentioned, at Astorga, which, coupled with the speech of the King of Great Britain on the previous 16th of December, left no doubt of the hostile intentions of Austria; and the Emperor, after a long conference with Maret at Valladolid, sent orders to the Spanish princes to prepare for war, and returned with all haste to Paris.

502. The measures of Austria, meanwhile, notwithstanding her warlike preparations, were by no means finally decided. All

her efforts to procure the co-operation of Russia or Prussia had failed; the previous ill success of the British by land gave little hopes of their effecting any permanent diversion in Spain; and the finances were still in a deplorable state of dissipation. Even the Archduke Charles, taught by past experience, sided with the peace party; but the majority of the nobles, headed by the prime minister Count Stadion, and supported by the universal enthusiasm of the people, were eager for war. The Tyrolese, it was known, were ready at the first signal to fly to arms against the hated yoke of Bavaria; and a general effervescence, fanned by the secret animosities of the Tyrolese, prevailed throughout Germany in favour of the Austrian cause. The French force in Germany, moreover, had been reduced by draughts for Spain, from 160,000 men to half that number, besides 100,000 soldiers of the Rhenish confederation; while the Austrian regulars now amounted to 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, besides 200,000 landwehr and the Hungarian insurrection. War, therefore, was resolved on: It was determined to assume the offensive, by invading at once Franconia, Lombardy, Tyrol, and the grand-duchy of Warsaw, in all which districts they had numerous and active partisans. On the 8th April, the frontiers were crossed on all points; the Archduke Charles, with 120,000 men, prepared to advance into Bavaria; the Archduke John had 47,000 in Italy; Chastellar led 12,000 into the Tyrol; and the Archduke Ferdinand, with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, moved on the side of Galicia against Poland.

503. Napoleon had certainly been taken in some measure at unawares by the commencement of hostilities: but the scattered divisions of the French had been for some time in the course of concentration; the Imperial Guard, under Bessières, had been summoned in all haste from Spain; and Berthier was despatched early in April to take the command till the arrival of the Emperor. His instructions were precise—to concentrate the army round Donauwerth or Ratisbon, according to circumstances; but he was utterly bewildered by the magnitude of his charge, and scattered his divisions in so useless and absurd a manner, that

his movements were ascribed by more than one of the marshals (though without cause) to treachery. Nothing but the extreme slowness of the Austrian advance saved the French army from ruin. Munich was occupied by Jellachich, the King of Bavaria flying to Stuttgart; and when Napoleon arrived at Donauwerth, on the morning of 17th April, he found the Archduke with 100,000 men interposed between Davoust and Massena—the former of whom was at Ratisbon with 60,000, while the latter had remained, by Berthier's orders, at Augsburg, thirty-five leagues to the south-west; and Ordinoz and the Bavarians alone lay at Ingolstadt to oppose the Austrian advance. Dissembling his anxiety, however, he issued instant and pressing orders to the two marshals to effect a junction at all hazards; and addressed an energetic proclamation to his troops, reproaching the Austrians with commencing hostilities without cause, and promising them great glories in their overthrow.

But these movements, notwithstanding all the zeal of the marshals, could not be performed with the requisite celerity; and had not the Archduke, dividing his army, marched with the greatest part against Ratisbon, Davoust must have been crushed. They passed, however, within a short distance, without the bulk of the forces meeting: though a severe action took place (April 19) between Davoust and the covering corps of Hohenzollern, who attempted at Thaur, though without success, to arrest the march of the French through the important defile of Portaal. Napoleon's plan was now to separate the Grand Army under the Archduke from Jellachich and Hiller, and drive it into the narrow space formed by the bend of the Danube at Ratisbon; and, reassured by the junction of Davoust with the Bavarians under Lefebvre, he commenced the offensive by advancing his right against Landshut. On the 20th, accordingly, the corps of Hiller and the Archduke Louis were vigorously attacked on all points, and a running fight, rather than a regular battle, ensued, in which the Austrians, though not completely routed in any quarter, had generally the disadvantage. Following up his success, the Emperor again assailed Hiller on the following day, at

the passage of the bridges at Landshut over the Isar; the Austrian covering cavalry were broken by the impetuosity of the French horse, and Hiller, whose rear was at the same time menaced by Massena, drew off towards the Inn, having lost nearly 6000 men, 25 guns, and a vast quantity of baggage and ammunition. In all these encounters, Napoleon, leaving the French to his marshals, headed in person the troops of the Confederation—a policy at once generous and prudent, which kindled to the utmost their enthusiasm on his behalf.

505. Davoust, in the mean time, had been unable to prevent the Archduke Charles from occupying Ratisbon, (April 20,) and making prisoners the single French regiment left as its garrison: but the movements of the Archduke and Napoleon now evidently indicated the approach of a general engagement. The former had concentrated 80,000 men between Abensberg and Ratisbon; but half this number were thrown forward, under Kollowrat and Lichtenstein, on the great road to Neustadt, in order to menace the French left and rear,—so that Napoleon, on the 22d, was able to bring 75,000 men against the remaining 40,000 under Rosenberg and Hohenzollern, who lay behind the Laber, on the villages of Echmühl and Laichling. The object of Napoleon was to cut off the Austrians from the Inn, and their communications with Vienna, and throw them back on Ratisbon; and at mid-day the battle of Echmühl commenced. Lannes, with an overwhelming force, turned and drove back the Austrian left; and following in his advantage, carried by a flank attack the village of Ratisbon in the centre, which had hitherto repulsed all the attacks of the Württembergers in front. Davoust, on the other side, had made himself master of Laichling; and the Archduke, perceiving a retreat necessary, prepared to fall back to Ratisbon. The heroic gallantry of the Austrian commanders, who covered this perilous movement, withstood till after nightfall the onset of the whole French cavalry; the Imperialists reached the Danube in safety, and passed the stream during the night, over the bridge of Ratisbon, and a hastily-constructed pontoon bridge. Their loss in the battle had been 5000 killed and wounded, and

7000 men, besides 12 standards and 18 pieces of cannon: the French loss was about 6000 men.

Bataison was assaulted at noon the next day; and Napoleon himself, in his anxiety, approached so close that a musket-shot struck his foot. Consternation instantly spread through the ranks—the soldiers, in spite of the tremendous fire of the Austrians, crowding from all quarters round their beloved chief; but it was soon ascertained that the injury was a mere contusion, and the assault was resumed with redoubled fury. Launes, with his own hand, at length planted a scaling ladder—Labedoyère, reserved for a melancholy fate in future times, was the first who mounted the wall—and the place was speedily carried. On the following day, a grand review was held under the walls; honours and bounties were showered on those who had distinguished themselves; and the troops of the Confederation, to whom such a scene was perfectly new, were delighted beyond measure by the ample participation to which they were admitted.

507. The advantages gained were in truth very great. The errors of Berthier had been repaired—the Austrian forces everywhere driven back with loss, their corps separated from each other, and the road to Vienna laid open to the conqueror. But though these splendid triumphs attended the arms of Napoleon where he attended in person, the event was far different in other quarters. Hiller, who had just taken the Inn had been followed up by the Bavarians and the French, finding that Napoleon had diverged in another direction, suddenly turned on his pursuers, (April 24,) and gave them a signal defeat; and a still more serious disaster had befallen Beauharnais in Italy. His army, which was chiefly composed of Italians, was utterly routed by the Archduke John (April 16) at Sacile, between the Tagliamento and Adige, with the loss of 4000 killed and wounded, 4000 prisoners, and 15 guns; but the further fruits of this brilliant victory were lost to the Austrians, from the progress of events in Germany, which rendered necessary the assembly of all their armies for the defence of Vienna.

VI. *Capture of Vienna--Battle of Aspern.*

508. Immediately after the battle of Echmühl, Napoleon resolved on striking a blow at the heart of the Austrian power, before they could rearrange their projects, issued orders in all directions for an advance on Vienna. Davoust's corps alone was left at Ratisbon to observe the Archduke; and by daybreak on the 26th, 100,000 men were in full march for the Inn. Hiller and the Archduke Louis, with 35,000 men, were all that intervened on the direct route; and though the Tyrol was in full insurrection on one flank, and the Archduke Charles, with 75,000 men, lay in the Bohemian mountains on the other, it was not the character of Napoleon to be deterred by such obstacles. The Guard, 20,000 strong, arrived on the 26th from Spain, and the onward march was pressed with ceaseless vigour. The advance was retarded for two days by the breaking of the bridges of the Salza; but at the wooden bridge of Ebersberg, over the wide and impetuous torrent of the Traun, a desperate conflict took place (May 3) between Hiller, who had determined to defend this important post, and the French vanguard under Massena. Led by General Cohorn, (a descendant of the illustrious engineer), the French rushed to the attack with the exulting audacity derived from their late triumphs: the small islands which divided the stream were carried, by the fire from the head of the long bridge over the main current, and a scene of carnage ensued, exceeding even the passage of the bridge of Lodi. After repeated assaults, the bridge was at last carried, and the castle of Ebersberg carried by le Grand; but the Austrians still held their ground on the heights, till finding their flank menaced by troops which had crossed higher up, they draw off in the night to Enns. In this terrific combat 6000 fell on each side; and Napoleon testified his displeasure at this useless slaughter, which a flank movement might have rendered unnecessary.

509. This severe loss incapacitated Hiller from further impeding

the progress of the French ; and he shortly after, in pursuance of orders which reached him, crossed to the left bank of the Danube. The French now redoubled their celerity, and on the 10th of May, exactly a month since the Austrians had crossed the Inn, their eagles appeared before Vienna. The Austrian capital, however, well provided with artillery, and garrisoned with 4000 regulars and 8000 landwehr, determined on defence ; but the bridges of the Danube islands were stormed, and on the 12th a vigorous bombardment was commenced from the same ground held by the Turks 126 years before. The city was soon on fire in several places ; but the direction of the mortars was changed by order of Napoleon, on learning that a princess of the Imperial house lay ill, and incapable of removal, in the palace immediately opposite his batteries—this was the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the future Empress of France ! The Archduke Maximilian, however, who commanded in the city, becoming aware that his position was untenable, withdrew with his troops ; the authorities lost no time in capitulating ; and at noon on the 13th, the French a second time entered Vienna.

510. The Archduke Charles, meanwhile, had set out from Bohemia to cover the capital ; but his march was pursued with a tardiness only to be explained by the error into which he fell, of mistaking Davoust's force for the whole French army, and thus conceiving that Hiller would be adequate to check the movement of any detached corps on Vienna. But for this fatal misconception, he might easily have reached the capital before it surrendered ; but his van only arrived at the northern extremity of the bridges on the evening of the 15th, when the enemy were already in full possession. On the following day he effected his junction with Hiller, and stood prepared to oppose, with his whole force, the passage of the river by the French.

511. The Archduke John, meanwhile, having been peremptorily summoned to the defence of the Hereditary States, had begun a retreat from the Adige (May 1) towards Friuli, followed at some distance by Eugene. His orders were to maintain himself in Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, and thence to operate against

Lintz, on the line of the enemy's communications; but he unfortunately deviated in all points from these judicious instructions. On the 8th of May he gave battle to the French on the banks of the Piave; but the spirits of Eugene's army were now powerfully elevated by the news of the French triumphs in Germany—the fords of the river were forced, and the Austrians defeated, with the loss of 6000 men and 15 guns. After this reverse he fell back, first to Villach, and afterwards into Hungary, leaving the Tyrol and the Carinthian fortresses to their fate. The French, crossing the Austrian frontier on the 14th, successively reduced, after a heroic resistance in each case, the mountain forts of Malborghetto, Col di Tarwis, Prediel, &c.; while their right wing, under Macdonald, occupied Trieste, (May 20,) and took Laybach on the 22d, after routing the troops collected for its defence. Jellachich's division, which had moved towards Salzburg to co-operate with the Archduke John, was routed, and almost annihilated, (May 24,) in the valley of the Mura; and on the 28th, Eugene's army, amid shouts of joy, joined Napoleon before Vienna.

512. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed on the approaching struggle on the Danube, defeat in which to either party seemed fraught with irreparable ruin, since the Austrians had no other army to fall back upon; and a disastrous retreat to the Rhine would be the inevitable fate of the French. Well aware of the crisis, the Emperor was indefatigable in his efforts to station his troops so as to cover his rear and protect his communications, before he attempted to cross the Danube, the stream of which spreads near the city into a wide expanse, embracing several islands in its course. The first attempt was made (May 13) at Nussdorf, immediately above Vienna; but it was frustrated by the vigilance of Hiller, and 600 men, who had occupied an island, were made prisoners. The point next selected was the large island of Lobau, opposite Ebersdorf, the Austrian posts on which were surprised (May 19) by Massena's corps; and a pontoon bridge was completed the next day from the island to the opposite shore of the Marchfeld. The passage instantly

commenced, and, by noon on the 21st, 40,000 men were assembled in battle array on the north side.

513. The Archduke Charles, relying on the expected co-operation of his brother, had directed Kollowrath, with 25,000 men, to attack the bridge of Lintz, (May 19,) held by the Würtembergers. But the arrival of Bernadotte with 30,000 Saxons defeated the enterprise: and the Archduke, who lay with the bulk of his army on the woody heights of the Bisamberg, resolved to crush the corps of Massena, while still isolated on the left bank. Napoleon's overweening confidence had in fact at length brought him into a situation full of danger, where he was liable to attack from superior numbers in an open plain, with a great river in his rear; and the Austrians descended to the battle in the full anticipation of a victory which would deliver their country, and its captive capital, from the hated presence of the stranger. The French bridge joined the bank halfway between the villages of Aspern and Essling, which lay a mile apart, covering either flank of the position held by Massena and Bossières: and Napoleon, who perceived the magnitude of the peril, made every exertion to get over the remainder of the army. But the bridges had been so injured by the rise of the stream, and the constant march of troops, so as to be almost impassable; and 80,000 Austrians, including 14,000 magnificent cavalry, with 288 guns, were already hastening to the attack.

514. The Imperialists advanced in five massy columns, preceded by clouds of horse; and the village of Aspern, which was attacked by Hiller and Hohenzollern, became the theatre of a murderous conflict, which continued with equal obstinacy on both sides for several hours. All the military skill and invincible tenacity of Massena were displayed in the defence: every house, every garden, was contested; but the numbers and determination of the Austrians at last prevailed, and the village was carried amidst deafening shouts of victory. In the centre, meanwhile, a tremendous charge of cuirassiers against the Austrian artillery, which was tearing to pieces the French line, was baffled by the firm squares of the Hungarian infantry, and the routed cavalry

withdrew with the loss of half their numbers. A general charge was now ordered by the Archduke, and nearly succeeded in breaking the French centre: but all the efforts of Rosenberg failed to dislodge Lannes from Essling, which remained in the hands of the French at nightfall.

515. The peril of the French was now most imminent; but during the night so many troops were got over, that in the morning, when the battle was renewed, Napoleon had 70,000 men in line. With the first dawn Essling was again assaulted, and at last taken by Rosenberg; but Aspern, on the other hand, was recaptured by St Cyr, till Napoleon, further reinforced by part of Davoust's corps, ordered a grand attack in the centre. The shock, led by the fiery valour of Lannes, was for the moment irresistible, and a huge gap appeared in the hostile line; but the Archduke, feeling that the decisive moment had arrived, threw himself in person among the wavering troops, and led them back against the enemy. The reserve under the Prince of Reuss, supported by Lichtenstein's numerous dragoons, arrested the progress of Lannes' column, which was finally driven back with heavy loss; and Hohenzollern, at this instant perceiving an opening in the French line, dashed through with the Hungarian grenadiers, and maintained the vantage-ground he had thus won. The bridges were at the same time broken by fire-ships and heavy vessels sent down the stream; and the French ammunition, after two days' incessant firing, was nearly exhausted.

516. In this terrible moment Napoleon's courage did not forsake him. Calm and collected, he gave general orders to fall back to Lobau, while the Austrians poured a terrific fire on the retiring columns, massed together at the entrance of the bridge, and the Archduke in person led the reserve of Hungarian grenadiers to a final charge. In resisting this attack, Lannes was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot, which carried off both his legs: but his last effort of heroism had saved the French army, which effected its retreat into the island of Lobau, having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than 35,000 men. The Austrian

loss, as admitted with German honesty in the official account, exceeded 20,000.

517. Such was the glorious battle of Aspern, the first in which Napoleon had ever been defeated. In the midst of the public calamity he shed tears beside the death-bed of Lannes, his early companion in arms; but despair pervaded the whole host, the situation of which appeared almost hopeless. Cooped up as they were in an island, without ammunition, and exposed to the attack of a victorious enemy, victory appeared hopeless, and retreat impossible; and in the council of war the marshals unanimously and strongly recommended a withdrawal to the right bank. But Napoleon, who clearly perceived that this step would be equivalent to an admission of defeat, absolutely negatived the proposition; and measures were instantly taken for re-establishing the bridges, and restoring the communication with the right bank and the remainder of the army.

VII. *War in the Tyrol, Northern Germany, and Poland.*

518. The country of the Tyrol, the scene of the immortal struggle which we are now about to commemorate, consists of the mountains stretching eastward from the Swiss Alps, and separating the plains of Bavaria from those of Italy. Though less lofty than the Helvetic peaks, those of the Tyrol are still more rugged; while the narrow valleys round their bases are of matchless beauty, and the climate and products, to the south of the great central chain of the Brenner, partake of a more genial character than to the north of that range. The country, wholly without level plains, is intersected only by a few long and spacious valleys, of which the most considerable are those of the Inn, the Eisach, the Adige, and the Pusterthal. The first of these extends from the borders of Switzerland to those of Bavaria; the second from Brixen to Bolsano, where it joins that of the Adige—which, descending from the frigid Alps of Glarns, widens into the Passeyrthal, the original seat of the Counts of Tyrol, and more famous in modern times as the birthplace of Hofer: the

upper parts of the valleys of the Drave, the Salza, and the Brenta, are also within the boundary of the Tyrol.

519. Though inhabiting the same mountain range, and under the same climate as the Swiss, the Tyrolese national character differs wholly from that of their neighbours. Though not yielding to the descendants of Tell in their ardent love of freedom, they have always been distinguished for their ardent and enthusiastic loyalty towards the house of Austria, to which they have been subject since 1303; and they have never expelled their ancient seigneurs, whose immense ruinous castles, perched on crags and lofty heights above every valley, form one of the most striking characteristics of the country. The romantic legends connected with them, and firmly credited by the superstition of the people, throw an air of Gothic interest over these relics of feudalism,—superstitions, too, of a gentler and more holy kind have arisen from the devout feelings of the people, whose uniform piety is a remarkable feature in their character. Nor has their religion been corrupted by any of those errors which have elsewhere dimmed the light of the Catholic church: absolution for money is almost unknown, and the control of the parish priests over their flocks is exercised with strict and unblemished conscientiousness. Though subjects of a despotic monarchy, they have from the earliest times possessed all the practical blessings of freedom, including a representative government and the right of self-taxation; and the peasants in the German Tyrol are almost all owners of the land they cultivate—a circumstance which has further contributed to nourish the martial and independent spirit they have always displayed. The frequent practice of the chase, and of firing at targets, has given them an extraordinary proficiency as marksmen—and to this is chiefly attributable their long and successful resistance, with little aid from Austria, against the united force of France and Bavaria.

520. To such a people, and so warmly attached to their ancient princes, their forcible transference to the rule of Bavaria was immeasurably odious. Though all their privileges had been solemnly guaranteed to them by the treaty of Presburg, this

compact was soon violated in every point. Their constitution was overthrown ; their monasteries suppressed, and the church plate sold ; new and oppressive taxes were arbitrarily imposed ; and the introduction of the conscription irritated the people almost to madness. These feelings were well known to the Austrian government, and they kept up a constant correspondence with the malcontent leaders, in which the Archduke John, who had formerly passed much time in the Tyrol, was a principal agent. But the leaders of the peasantry, when they at last rose in arms, were taken from their own body ; and the most noted among these, besides the immortal Hofer, were Spechbacher, Haspinger, and Teimer. Hofer himself was born in 1767, and exercised in the Passeyrthal the hereditary profession of an innkeeper. His means of improvement, from his intercourse with travellers, and his frequent visits to Italy, had been superior to those of most persons in his rank ; and his personal acquaintance with the Archduke John, formed during that prince's scientific rambles, gave him consideration in the eyes of his countrymen. His character was truly German, both in his merits and defects ; his honesty, piety, and patriotism were unbounded ; and though sometimes slow and vacillating, he possessed (as was shown when he was invested with supreme power in the autumn of 1809) a just discrimination, hardly to be expected from his limited opportunities. Convivial sometimes even to intemperance, he was often carousing when the troops were in action ; but his energy in action, and his undoubted sincerity of patriotism, always preserved to him the attachment of his followers.

321. The other chiefs were persons of less note. Spechbacher, a substantial yeoman in the Innthal, had in his youth as a hunter acquired a knowledge of the country, and a degree of personal daring, which made him superior to Hofer in the actual conduct of partisan warfare, though far his inferior in general powers of mind. Haspinger (often called *Rothbard* or Red Beard) was a Capuchin friar, who led his men into action in his monastic dress, wielding as his only weapon a huge wooden crucifix ; and

the efficiency of Teimer, though a man of superior talents, both in war and negotiation, was impaired by his not possessing the confidence of the peasants in the same degree as his colleagues. Such were the leaders of the peasants, when, on the night of the 8th April, the long-expected and agreed-on signal was given by throwing sawdust into the Inn, which floated down the stream, and was instantly understood. The people rose as one man, amid the tears and blessings of their families and the clergy; every glen sent forth its band of intrepid riflemen, till the accumulated torrent, gaining strength at every step, pressed down the great valleys against the enemy; and Chastellar, on entering the country with ten thousand regulars, (April 9,) found every part of it already in insurrection.

522. The Bavarian commander Wrede lost no time in attempting to suppress the revolt, but his troops were everywhere overborne by the enthusiastic valour of the insurgents: two divisions were forced to lay down their arms: and on 11th April, Innspruck, the capital of the province, was stormed by 20,000 peasants from the Innthal, who put to the sword great part of the garrison. The French division of Bisson, 3000 strong, was compelled to surrender on the 12th; the strong post of Hall, in the Lower Innthal, was surprised by Spechbacher; and in a week from the outbreak, the whole province, except the fortress of Kuffstein, was cleared of the enemy. The French, discouraged by their reverses, evacuated Trent and Roveredo; the flame spread through the Italian Tyrol, even into the Kingdom of Italy; while Napoleon, incited by these disasters, fulminated a decree of outlawry against Chastellar and the Baron Hormayer, (a Tyrolese noble active on the patriotic side,) both of whom he ordered, if taken, to be tried and shot by a military commission as *brigands*.

523. Chastellar, meanwhile, after endeavouring to give some degree of organisation to the mountaineers, had commenced operations on the Italian frontier; but he was soon recalled to the north of the Brenner to repel Lefebvre—who, after the defeat of Hiller at Landshut, had routed Jellachich (April 29) near Salzburg, and forced the defiles between Reichenhall and Worgl on

Ascension-day, (May 11,) when most of the Tyrolese were at church or keeping holiday. A Bavarian corps, under Deroy, at the same time entered the country by Kufstein; and Chastellar determined to combat Lefebvre before this new enemy came up. But in two desperate conflicts, at Feuersinger and Worgl, he was overpowered by superior numbers; and on the 19th, Lefebvre entered Innsbruck without further opposition.

524. Affairs now seemed desperate, as another corps of 15,000 men, detached from Eugene's Italian army, was advancing up the valley of the Adige; but the cruelty of the Bavarians kept alive the spirit of resistance, and Hofer, who was at first overwhelmed with grief, once more summoned the Tyrolese to the general rendezvous at Mount Ysel. A proclamation, (issued May 23, the day after the victory of Aspern,) in which the Emperor Francis engaged "never to lay down his arms till the Tyrol was reunited to Austria," raised their spirits to the highest degree; and (May 29) a battle was fought near Innsbruck, in which 20,000 undisciplined peasants, aided by 900 Austrian infantry, with 70 horse and 5 guns, utterly discomfited 8000 regular troops, with 800 horse and 25 pieces of artillery. The Bavarians lost 4000 men; and Deroy, having concluded a suspension of arms, commenced his retreat the same evening, leaving the whole country in possession of the victors. The bands from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg now spread terror through all the adjacent parts of Germany and Italy; Constance fell into their hands; and no less than 17,000 of the Austrian prisoners taken at Echmühl, &c., were released in the course of these incursions. The flame of insurrection spread from the Black Forest to Lombardy, and from Salzburg to the Grisons; and, besides the brave but undisciplined peasants, not less than 20,000 foot and 800 horse, regularly organised and equipped, were under arms to repel the hated tyranny of the French.

525. During this heroic contest, a general revolt against the French had nearly taken place in Saxony and Westphalia, where the enormous burdens imposed on the people, and the insolence of the French troops, had kindled a deadly spirit of hostility against

the oppressors. Everywhere the Tugendbund were in activity ; and the advance of the Austrians towards Franconia and Saxony, at the beginning of the war, blew up the flame. The two first attempts at insurrection, headed respectively by Katt, a Prussian officer, (April 3,) and Dornberg, a Westphalian colonel, (April 23,) proved abortive ; but the enterprise of the celebrated Schill was of a more formidable character. This enthusiastic patriot, then a colonel in the Prussian army, had been compromised in the revolt of Dornberg ; and finding himself discovered, he boldly raised the standard (April 29) at the head of 600 soldiers. His force speedily received accessions ; but failing in his attempts on Wittenberg and Magdeburg, he moved towards the ~~Baltic~~, in hope of succour from the British cruisers, and at last threw himself into Stralsund. Here he was speedily invested ; the place was stormed, (May 31,) and the gallant Schill slain in the assault, a few hours only before the appearance of the British vessels—the timely arrival of which might have secured the place, and spread the rising over all Northern Germany.

526. The Duke of Brunswick-Oels, with his *black band* of volunteers, had at the same time invaded Saxony from Bohemia ; and though then obliged to retreat, he made a second incursion in June, occupied Dresden and Leipsic, and drove the King of Westphalia into France. After the battle of Wagram he made his way across all Northern Germany, and was eventually conveyed, with his gallant followers, still 2000 strong, to England.

527. It has been already mentioned that, at the beginning of the war, an army of 36,000 men under the Archduke Ferdinand, with ninety-six guns, had been directed against the grand-duchy of Warsaw. As the bulk of the Polish forces were serving Napoleon either in Spain or on the Danube, Poniatowski had not more than 12,000 disposable troops : he, however, gallantly confronted the invaders at Raszyn, (April 19 ;) but the contest was too unequal, and he was forced to retreat, abandoning Warsaw to the enemy. The Austrians, now descending the left bank of the Vistula, menaced Thorn and Dantzic ; while the Polish general, ascending the right bank, threatened the Austro-

Polish province of Galicia, and expected the aid of a Russian army under Gallitzin. But these succours were slow and ineffectual; and a despatch was even captured by the Poles from the Russian general Gortchakoff to the Archduke, congratulating him on his success, and expressing a wish that the Russian and Austrian arms might soon be again united! The letter was sent by Poniatowski to the French Emperor; and though it was disavowed at St Petersburg, and Gortchakoff disgraced, the impression remained on the mind of Napoleon, who frequently observed to those in his confidence, "I see, after all, I shall have to make war on Alexander."

528. Another important political effect of Aspern was a secret negotiation for an alliance between Austria and Prussia; but the exorbitant demands of Prussia caused it to fail in the first instance; and before it could be renewed, the battle of Wagram had been fought, and the opportunity had passed away. The most energetic appeals, meanwhile, were everywhere made by the Austrians to the German people at large to rise in arms; while Napoleon, weakened by defeat, could only maintain himself by concentrating all his forces under the walls of Vienna.

VIII. *Battle of Wagram—Armistice of Znaim.*

529. Both the military and political position of Napoleon were now full of peril, but it was precisely in such circumstances that his genius shone forth with most lustre. He at once saw that a victory before Vienna would enable him to disregard the Tyrolese, the revolts in Northern Germany, and the threatened landing of the British in the Scheldt; and his attention was directed solely to the keeping open the communications of the Grand Army with the Rhine.

530. During the month of June, however, no encounter took place between the main armies before Vienna; the French being engaged in covering the Isle of Lobau with field-works of the most gigantic magnitude and strength, and connecting it by three bridges with the southern bank—while one immense bridge

ran across all the islands from shore to shore, and three other moveable bridges were concealed, ready for use, in one of the narrow channels. The Austrians had also erected formidable intrenchments, running from Aspern across the field of battle to the bank of the river at Enzersdorf; and before the end of June, the main forces of Austria were collected in these lines—all filled, by their late victory, with unwonted ardour and confidence. The Archduke, during the interval, had directed his efforts to regain his communication with the Archduke John and the Hungarian insurrection; and a conflict ensued at the bridge of Presburg, (June 3,) between Bianchi and the corps of Davoust. But the Viceroy, Eugene, with the troops under his command, was now detached in this direction by Napoleon; and the Archduke John, in spite of the express injunctions of his brother the generalissimo, determined to give him battle in a strong position near Raab, where he had 22,000 regulars and 18,000 of the new levies. The action took place on 14th June, (the anniversary of Marengo.) The Italian regiments gave way before the fiery valour of the Hungarians, but the advance of the French reserves restored the battle; and the Imperialists were finally defeated with the loss of 6000 men. The fortress of Raab, with its intrenched camp, fell into the hands of the victors; while the Hungarian levies, broken and disheartened, retired under the cannon of Komorn.

531. While these successes secured the French right, Marmont and Macdonald were rapidly approaching from Dalmatia and Styria; and after several severe though partial actions with Giulay, and Chastellier in Carniola, arrived in the isle of Lobau, (July 3.) Eugene, with the Italian army, had also been summoned to join the Emperor; and, having concealed his departure from the Archduke John, by pushing forward large masses of cavalry, he reached the camp, (July 4,) with his artillery and infantry. Carniola and Croatia, evacuated by this concentration of the French troops, were re-occupied by the Austrians; and a British subsidy of £320,000 was landed in Dalmatia, and safely transported across the mountains into Hungary.

532. The successes of the Austrian arms in Poland, meanwhile, had come to an end. The Archduke Ferdinand was recalled towards Austrian Poland by the bold stroke of Poniatowski against that province, where he had occupied Lemberg, and spread his light troops even beyond the Carpathians to the borders of Hungary—powerfully exciting the enthusiasm of the Galicians by the sight of the national uniforms. Repulsed in an attack on Thorn, the Archduke commenced his retreat, (May 30,) severely harassed by Dombrowski. Warsaw was abandoned to the Poles; and though Gallitzin, with the Russian auxiliaries, refused to cross the Vistula, his presence on the right bank secured the operations of the Poles on the other side of the stream. An attempt of the Russians, however, to occupy Cracow, (July 6,) had nearly kindled into a flame the ill-suppressed animosity of the two nations, and Gallitzin yielded the point. Hostilities were soon afterwards suspended by the armistice of Znaym; but the military ardour of the Poles was so strongly excited by their successes, that, before the peace of Vienna, Poniatowski had 48,000 men under arms, in addition to those already raised for the service of Napoleon.

533. It was from Lobau, however, that the decisive blow was to be dealt; and thither, on the 3d and 4th of July, the different reinforcements converged from all points with a precision never yet known in military history, till 150,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 750 pieces of artillery, were collected in a space two miles and a half long, by one and three-quarters wide. The Archduke's army was far from being equally concentrated, from the necessity of watching for a long space the banks of the river; and the Archduke John was still at Presburg. By a skilful feint, on the evening of the 3d, Napoleon succeeded in impressing the Austrians with the belief that the passage would be attempted at the same point as on the former occasion; but his real design was far different. While a tremendous fire was poured from all the Austrian batteries on the bridge of Aspern, the three movable bridges, already mentioned, were silently transported to a point opposite ~~Bazersdorf~~, lower down the stream; the passage

instantly commenced ; and such was the unprecedented activity exerted that, by 6 A.M. on the 5th, the whole French army, with its artillery, was grouped in dense array on the northern shore, in a position which took the Austrian lines in reverse, and cut off their communication with Hungary. The Imperial generals, struck with astonishment at this manœuvre, abandoned their now useless intrenchments, and fell back to a field previously chosen, on the vast elevated plateau of Wagram, four miles from the Danube, at the northern extremity of the Marchfeld. Here, in a position presenting a concave front to the French advance, strengthened by the villages of Wagram and Nonsiedel at each angle, and covered in front by the stream of the Russbach, they awaited the assault of Napoleon and his legions.

534. The French army, which had at first been drawn up in an immense close column perpendicular to the Danube, spread out its corps like the folds of a fan during its advance across the plain, to which the Archduke, who had at the moment only 60,000 men actually in position, offered no serious resistance. Napoleon, perceiving this, directed an instant attack by his own centre, 100,000 strong ; and at 6 P.M. the action was commenced by the corps of Oudinot ; while Eugene, fording the Russbach, gallantly ascended the heights of Wagram in the face of a murderous discharge of grape, which the Austrian artillery poured from their vantage-ground. The first line gave way before the shock ; but the Archduke hastened in person to the spot, with the veteran regiments of Zach, Vogelsang, and D'Erlach ; while the attacking column, enveloped and assailed on the right flank by Hohenzollern, and on the left by Bellegarde, at last gave way, and was driven in confusion headlong down the steep. The Saxons, who were advancing under Bernadotte, were overwhelmed by the flying battalions ; two eagles were taken ; and had the Imperialists been aware of the panic and disorder of the French line, the consequences might have been decisive. At eleven o'clock at night, however, a retreat was sounded ; and the two armies rested during the night off their former positions.

535. Encouraged by this success, the Archduke resolved to assume

the offensive. Orders were despatched to the Archduke John to hasten his march ; and at daybreak on the 6th, Rosenberg moved against the French right, in order to outflank it, and thus co-operate with the expected succours. As Prince John, however, had not come up, the attack on this point was suspended ; but the village of Aderklaa, in the centre of the field, (whence Bellegarde had driven the Saxons,) became the scene of a desperate struggle. St Cyr, with the leading division of Massena's corps, had at one time retaken it ; but while disordered by success, his troops, taken in flank by the cavalry, and charged in front by the grenadiers, led by the Archduke in person, were driven back at the point of the bayonet ; the panic spread to the Saxons, Darnstädters, &c., and the progress of the victors was with difficulty arrested by the Guard and the cuirassiers, whom Napoleon himself led to the spot. On the French left, the advantage gained by the Austrians was still more unequivocal. Kollowrath and Klenau had swept the field with overwhelming numbers, taken 4000 prisoners and many guns, and driven the French to the edge of the Danube : already the cry was heard—“ All is lost ; the bridges are taken ! ” and a general consternation began to pervade the ranks. But at this critical moment the formidable corps of Davoust, which had made a long circuit out of the range of artillery, commenced its attack on the Austrian left, which was at last forced back, and driven from Neusiedel and from the angle of the plateau ; and Napoleon, who still remained in the centre, gave orders for a general charge. The triumphant right wing of the Austrian was held in check by ten regiments of cavalry under Bessières ; Eugene, Marmont, and Bernadotte were directed against Wagram ; and a formidable column of all arms was arrayed by the Emperor himself, for the decisive effort in the centre.

536. The onset was led by Macdonald with eight strong battalions ; but the storm of fire by which they were assailed on either flank was so tremendous, that this band of heroes, reduced to 1500 men, was at length compelled to halt ; but the Emperor himself was at hand, and all the disposable troops were pushed forward

to prevent the halt from becoming a retreat. The cavalry everywhere recoiled before the tempest of cannon-balls, but the advance of the infantry was resumed with more success; and the Archduke, despairing of maintaining his position, ordered a general retreat. This movement, covered by Kollowrath, was conducted with consummate skill, and hardly any loss: the exhausted French were incapable of vigorous pursuit; and in spite of the chagrin of Napoleon, who repeatedly exclaimed, "No results! neither prisoners nor guns!" the Austrians took up their position at night on the great road to Brunn, while the French bivouacked on the field of battle. Twenty-five thousand on each side were killed or wounded: 5000 prisoners were taken by the Austrians, and 2000 by the French; but at no single point were the Austrians defeated, and it was at the command of their chief alone that they retired, unbroken, from the well-fought field of battle.

537. At the close of this mighty conflict, the columns of the Archduke John at length approached the field, advancing between three and four o'clock up to Neusiedel, and ~~on to~~ Wagram, through which the French had recently passed in pursuit! Finding, however, that the Austrians had retreated, he instantly countermarched his army, and before midnight regained Marchegg, 13 miles distant. Some of his advanced patrols of cavalry caused a panic in the French rear, which showed what might have been the results of his appearance at an earlier hour, when the fate of Europe hung in suspense on the success of Mactdonald's column. But the opportunity was gone; and the tardiness of this prince, whether arising from incapacity or from jealousy of his brother, again proved fatal to his country, as it had before done when he was ordered to combine with Kollowrath at the bridge of Lintz.

538. Napoleon, according to his custom, rode the next day over the field, and personally inspected the relief of the wounded, whose multitude exceeded all the efforts of the surgeons. The inestimable services of Mactdonald, between whom and the Emperor a coldness had hitherto subsisted, were repaid by a mar-

shal's baton, and the same distinction was conferred on Oudinot and Marmont. Bernadotte, on the contrary, was severely reprimanded for the misconduct of the Saxons under his command, as well as for a gasconading proclamation which he had addressed to them. He retired in disgrace to Paris; and his ancient jealousy of the First Consul, thus revived, probably contributed in no small degree, when he became a sovereign, to his appearance in arms against his old master.

539. Two lines of retreat lay open to the Archduke—one to Olmutz and Moravia, the other to Bohemia; and the strength of the country about Prague, as well as the important arsenals in that city, determined him on the latter. The Grand Army accordingly took the high road to Znaym, (July 7,) followed by the corps of Davoust, Massena, and Marmont; while the Viceroy, with 50,000 men, observed the Archduke John on the side of Presburg; and Macdonald remained to take charge of Vienna, and repel, if needful, the advance of Giulay from Croatia. The retreat of the Austrian main army was unmarked by any considerable action till its arrival at Znaym; but the Archduke halted on the strong position afforded by that town, and repelled with great slaughter (July 11) all the efforts of Marmont and Massena to dislodge him. But in the midst of the action it was announced that an armistice, proposed by the Archduke the night before, had been accepted by Napoleon. Hostilities were immediately suspended, and the two armies remained stationary on the positions they then held; while Napoleon lost no time in imposing, on the provinces thus occupied, a war contribution of 237,000,000 francs, (£9,500,000,) a burden at least equal to what £60,000,000 would be on Great Britain! The Imperial cabinet, then at Komorn at Hungary, at first hesitated to ratify the armistice, which appeared to them unnecessary; but it was at last signed (July 18) by the Emperor; and the flames of war were quenched in Germany till they broke out with awful violence, three years later, on the Niemen.

